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#34/Fall '92

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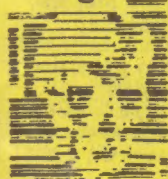
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# Anarchy

A J o u r n a l o f D e s i r e A r m e d



Collage by Freddie Baer





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Short news and comment articles or reviews which are used in "Openers," "The Sad Truth," "Alternative Media Review" or "International Anarchist News" may be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features, fiction) will be edited only with the author's permission. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free issues &/or subscriptions, or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation. Deadlines for submissions are Jan. 15th for the Spring issue, April 15th for the Summer issue, July 15th for the Fall issue, and Oct. 15th for the Winter issue, but it *always* helps to get submissions in earlier!

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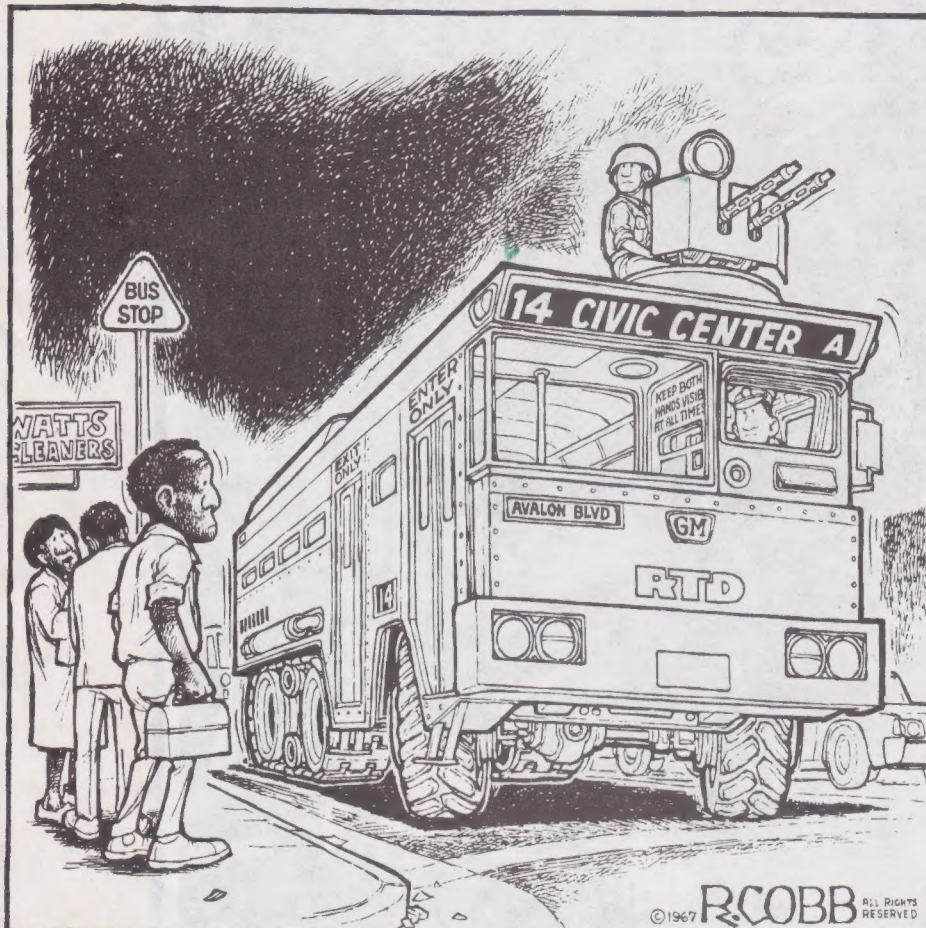
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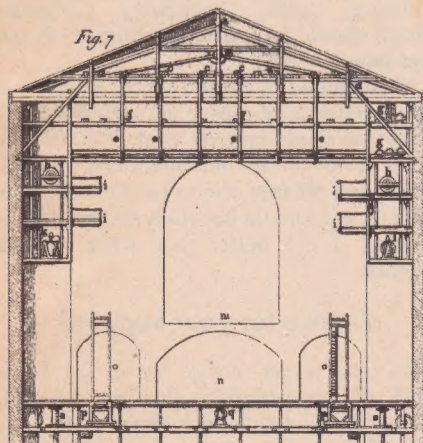
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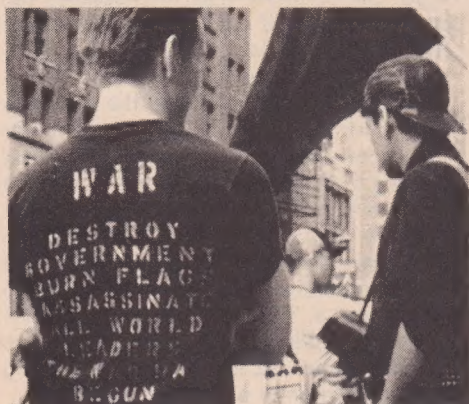


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## Inside Anarchy

Welcome to the Fall '92 issue of *Anarchy*. Our theme this time has more or less to do with "Crime and Criminalization." In fact the feature articles in this issue have been largely written by contributors who have been criminalized in one way or another (not that anyone who tries to live more or less freely could ultimately escape such categorization, anyway!).

As usual, this issue's features start off with another chapter from Raoul Vaneigem's *Revolution of Everyday Life*, this time on "Separation," followed by Nick DiSpoldo's "Postcards from prison," a non-anarchist, civil libertarian look at prisoners' legal situation. David Sonenschein contributes a piece which illuminates some of the ways in which non-mainstream sexual research is being increasingly criminalized in "On having one's research seized." Ben Satterfield takes a revealing look at the changing image of the contemporary criminal in the entertainment media in "David & Goliath and crime in America." And Bill Killion briefly examines why the "war on drugs" will never be won in "Drug-related crime." In "We all hate the cops," Max Anger examines the recent L.A. uprising, arguing for "unconditional support for all hostages taken by the state" during the massive police and military repression in which the revolt of tens of thousands has been scapegoated and criminalized. The Bureau of Public Secrets contributes a newly revised translation of the Situationist International's "The rise and fall of the spectacle-commodity economy." This essay, which was written in 1965 in response to the Watts uprising of that year, reveals both how much and how little has really changed in the last 27 years. And finally Ann Howe describes what prisoners face in 'segregation' in "Howls from the hole," while John Zerzan contributes a "Postscript" to his important "Future Primitive" (which appeared in the recent Summer '92 issue) on the transition from civilization to a non-alienated world.

## Other news

For those interested, the May '92 issue of *Rolling Stone* (#631) included a halfway intelligent interview of Noam Chomsky done by Charles Young titled "Noam Chomsky, Anarchy in the U.S.A."

We neglected to mention that Ward Churchill's "De-Constructing Columbus," published in our last issue, was reprinted with permission of the author from *Indigenous Thought* Vol.1, #2/3, June '91 (CAIH, 6802 SW 13th St., Gainesville, FL. 32608). It has also been reprinted recently in an excellent anthology titled *Confronting Columbus* (which should be belatedly reviewed in our next issue).

Many thanks to all who contributed to our laser printer fund-raising appeal! We didn't quite make our original goal of \$2,000, so we've scaled down our intentions and will purchase a cheaper printer (and other equipment) which should hopefully do the job just as well, if not better than what we had planned.

## Thanks for your support!

As readers may notice, we've lost a few more of our sustaining contributors. Our current list of sustainers include: J.M., T.O., A.H., S.H. & E.F. of Columbia, MO.; D.A. of Carbondale, IL.; A.H. of New Braunfels, TX.; A.G. of Paris, France; L.A. of Chicago, IL.; P.K. of San Francisco, CA.; T.D. of Manhattan Beach, CA.; J.J. of Union City, CA.; C.R. of Glenolden, PA.; K.M. of Oakland, CA.; R.S. of St. Louis, MO.; B.K. of Canoga Park, CA.; S.6 of Darwin, Australia; M.E. of NYC, NY.; R.C. of Boulder, CO.; J.M. & M.W. of Montréal, Québec; R.R. of Grove City, OH., and J.A. of Portland, OR. More thanks to all of you for your extra support! Without it we'd be hard pressed to continue publication in our current form. Sustaining contributors to *Anarchy* donate \$60 to \$120 per year—which includes a First Class subscription! We can *always* use more support! Any suggestions?

-Jason McQuinn

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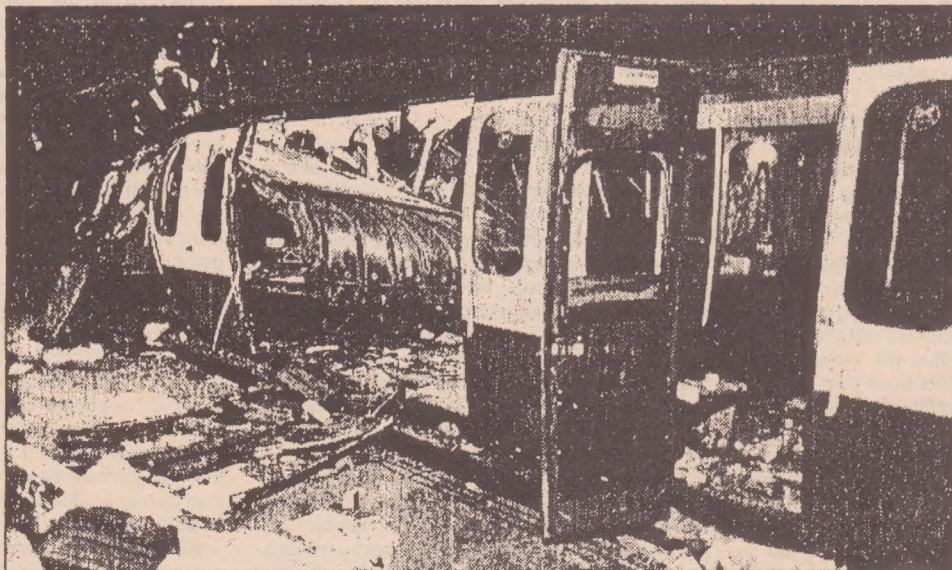
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# Do Not Panic



## THIS DISASTER IS COMPLETELY ROUTINE

### We Are All Collateral Damage

We all know that in disaster the managing director reaches for the public relations team even as the safety budget is being slashed. We all know the media is a circus fit only to distract us with fake outrage for the easily upset, pictures of the ritual slaughter for the drama junkies and manufactured choices for the terminally bored, for us all.

Fuck public inquiries. Fuck scapegoated employees. Safety costs, more than compensation (what compensation?), more than we are worth. Profit is the bottom line, government is business by another name.

We may as well sit back and bet on when the next big disaster is due. Guarantee it won't be long.

It's not the lack of safety in transport and at work. It's not the annual death and injuries at work. It's not the ever mounting death tolls from stress and pollution—cancer, heart disease, every major killer. It's not the deaths on the roads from the desperately tense and the drunkenly desperate. It's not the chewed up planet that leaves us living in a vast slag heap. It's not that we treat each other like business treats us, objects to be used and thrown away. It's not the huge hostile boredom that reduces life to a slow march to death.

It's all this. It's that this is sold to us as our paradise. It's that we sell our lives everyday to build this world which is aimed like a pistol at our hearts. That we daily build our own prison, our oh so modern hell, participate in this vast organized suicide.

Every factory a bullet, every oil tanker a time bomb, every TV ten thousand valium, every office a morgue...

**Fuck Capitalist Organization - State/Private False Choices**  
**Fuck Technology - Fuck Death**



# La Saint-Jean

By Michael William

**P**art uninhibited rollicking party, part ugly chauvinist outburst, La Saint-Jean, Québec's national holiday on June 24, is a clashing experience. This year's La Saint-Jean was especially important for nationalists because it represented a major symbolic event on the road to a referendum the ruling Liberal Party is theoretically obliged to hold in October.

This time I wanted to do something, however minor, to counter La Saint-Jean. The current nationalist frenzy here (and in so many other places) is depressing and frustrating, stupefyingly stupid. Those who, at this late date, remain abstractly enamoured of national liberation struggles may well find it worthwhile to come and check out what's happening in Québec. A cold shower of real-existing nationalism, in all its pompous, mindless banality, does wonders for dissipating illusions. Local anti-authoritarian anti-nationalists have been doing texts and posters (and stickers will soon be available, I'm told), and I've been expressing my disgust with graffiti, tracts, and posters. Attempting to be more direct and confrontational, I did a tract using a détourned alcoholics anonymous (i.e. *nationalists anonymous*) motif, which I've given out to several hundred people wearing t-shirts or sporting other nationalist paraphernalia (of which there is no lack hereabouts).

This article is an attempt to give an idea of the atmosphere in Québec rather than an analysis of the nationalist situation or of nationalism more generally. Unfortunately, no one has done a local in-depth text from an anti-nationalist viewpoint. However, a number of texts, tracts, and posters are available which I'd be glad to send to anyone who's interested (write to: Michael, c/o *Demolition Derby*, C.P. 1554 Succ. 'B', Montréal, Québec, Canada H3B 3L2).

With a felt pen I mark "Référendum bidon: ABSTENTION" (worthless or half-assed referendum: abstention) on an old t-shirt. Provocative for a day like this but not outrageous enough, I expect, for someone to crack a bottle over my head before I have a chance to defend myself. I'm nervous about giving out my tract, with its burning Canadian and Québécois flags and combination of humour, insult, and analysis. Giving it out later during the concert, when folks are really tanked up, would be fairly suicidal.

I cross Saint-Denis, which is part of the parade's trajectory. I go up to a couple of young, clean-cut types sitting on the curb under a nationalist banner. Before I can hand out a tract, one of them says, "Oh, no, you Anglos can't abstain." Why does he assume I'm Anglophone? He sounds genuinely, profoundly disappointed that anyone would question the legitimacy of the referendum farce. I hand him a tract.

Two people with flags are coming in the opposite direction, as I continue on to the starting point. "Nationalists anonymous," I intone in a funereal voice. A smile bubbles up, adding a discordant note. If I have to put up with this omnipresent nationalist miserablism at

least I intend to squeeze some pleasure out of it. "Nationalists anonymous?" one of them says in disbelief as I hand her a tract.

Someone is selling handmade pastel nationalist t-shirts, which are displayed on a clothesline. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of people are flogging buttons, stickers, and flags. Times are tough to be sure, and you can't fault poor people for trying to make an extra buck; but how visibly and easily nationalism becomes just another commodity which is bought and sold.

I decide to give out tracts along the parade route and start along Sherbrooke toward Saint-Denis. A group of French-speaking black people of different ages comes along and I give them a tract. Though officially billed as the holiday of all Québécois, the crowd is almost entirely white and Francophone. A fiftyish, smiling man points at my t-shirt, saying I'm in a 'pessimistic' mood. He's wearing the badge of the Société Saint-Jean Baptiste, the nationalist organization which puts on the annual parade. We exchange a couple of sentences. He amicably but firmly refuses a tract.

On the corner of Saint-Denis, someone is selling representations of phoney Québécois money. About a quarter of the people are wearing nationalist t-shirts. A half-dozen models predominate, but the variations are seemingly infinite. A truck with a sound system is exhorting people to wave their flags in unison. "I hate flags," I yell, and launch into a loud anti-flag rant, as I head up Saint-Denis. People stare at me like I'm the creature from the Black Lagoon.

Politely asking me for a tract, a woman taps me on the shoulder. Five seconds later, behind me, she methodically begins to rip it into small pieces. I turn back, saying that, since she didn't even finish the first paragraph, she certainly doesn't have much of an interest in alternative viewpoints. "Clear out," she informs me, eyeing me lobster-like. "Get off the street." "Some country you intend to create—where you can't even give out tracts," I tell her, and launch into a diatribe. Like a stuck record, she keeps ordering me to get out.

I approach a group of youths with flags on the corner. "Leninist?" one of them asks, motioning to my tract. "No," I groan. "Extremist?" he says. "Right." I start to walk away after handing him a tract. "Come back, I want to talk to you." Usually I would be glad to. But I'm still wound up from the last confrontation and prefer to continue on.

So many people are now lining the streets that it takes five minutes to funnel through when I get to the corner. I'm not going to be able to continue much further, so I cut over a couple of blocks to a métro (subway) entrance, where people are exiting, heading for the parade. On the corner a couple of people are selling *Rebelles*, a self-described libertarian socialist bimonthly whose primary plank is creating a Québec state. Anarcho-statism of one type or another (libertarian municipalist electoralists, Khaddafy supporters, various types of national liberation supporters) may well be the majority tendency hereabouts.

A group of about 15 punkish youths are

sitting next to the métro. I go over and put a tract on the ground among them and go back to the métro entrance. I get into a couple of conversations about my tract with people coming out of the métro.

Suddenly I'm surrounded by most of the punks. "Who are you?" one of them asks. How am I supposed to answer that in two sentences? I start to explain that I'm simply distributing my tract when one of them notices that I have a slight accent. Am I a 'bloke' he asks, using one of the dialect's quaint anachronisms. What difference does it make, I begin to say, but he cuts me off. It clearly makes a big difference to him. Several people are firing questions at me. I'm off balance, unable to reply to everyone at once. "What do you have against Québec?" What's my 'complaint'? Didn't any of them read my tract?? They think I'm pro-Canada. "I'm not federalist," I clarify, "I don't want a state." However, I'm phrasing it awkwardly. They think I'm rejecting just a Québec state. One of them is thrusting his face next to me, yelling. Things are definitely getting heavy and I'm outnumbered 15 to one. I yell that I don't want a Québec state because I want to abolish all states.

"Oh, you're an anarchist." 'Yes!' Cheers and clapping erupt, breaking the tension. That's what anarchy means, abolishing the state, I shout, exasperated. Several people ask for a copy of the tract. Everything is now hunky-dory. At least until they read the tract and discover that my brand of anarchy is not the anarcho-nationalism most of them seem to favour. I move away from the crowd, followed by a youth who apologizes for his friends. I let him know what I think of their cop-like behaviour. He complains that he didn't get a tract, and I give him one.

Suddenly I feel exhausted and sit down on Mount-Royal Street. A couple of the youths from the group cut across the street and one of them makes hostile comments when he sees me. With comrades like this, who needs enemies?

The parade is finally coming, so I go over to check it out. Cheesy modernist floats, people dressed in 18th-century military uniforms, and so forth. Following the parade, filling the street, comes the traditional blocks-long detachment of flag-wavers and nationalist slogan-shouters. Standing close to the curb, I distribute tracts as the crowd surges by. The raw odour of nationalism is overwhelming and nauseating. A lot of people who notice my t-shirt come over and the tracts disappear quickly. Out of tracts, I get off the street as the raggedy remnants of the crowd pass by. Someone carrying an obelisk-like object proclaiming "Sovereignty '92" comes by. A cheer breaks out from people lining the streets.

Uh huh.

Numb, I head toward my apartment a few blocks away in the Portuguese neighbourhood. As soon as I distance myself from the crowd, the atmosphere changes entirely. Most of the stores are open and no one seems to be celebrating. Just another day.



# Insurgents Demolish War Satellites

Harriet Tubman-Sarah Conner Brigade Communique

SEAL BEACH, CALIFORNIA:

**O**n the night of May 11, 1992, members of the Harriet Tubman-Sarah Conner Brigade, a nonviolent resistance network, demolished crucial parts of the US government's Navstar GPS military satellite system, an instrument of global terror and doomsday madness designed to crush all uprisings against corporate control of the Earth

and to make possible a catastrophic nuclear first strike against any country that challenges worldwide US corporate-military dominance.

Navstar GPS ("Navigation System Time and Ranging, Global Positioning System") is a far reaching "force multiplier" program, halfway to full deployment as of May 1992. It has been designed to:

1) guide military or police assault teams and

gunships to their targets on search-and-capture or search-and-destroy missions against resistance fighters, 'subversive' or undocumented civilian refugees, and independent indigenous communities, in their rainforest/mountain sanctuaries or urban slum back alleys, day or night anywhere on the planet—especially in the Third World, from Kurdistan to Manila, from Guatemala to Los Angeles; and

2) provide the Pentagon's nuclear attack missiles with the unprecedented accuracy required only to start and win World War III through a devastating surprise attack on the nuclear deterrent forces of any possible rival, especially a resurgent Russian or Eurasian alliance.

Navstar GPS also offers the ruling corporate-military-police-state empire and ability to survey and map every remote wilderness, desert, rainforest, and indigenous nation on Earth, for control and exploitation of their 'resources'. The Pentagon and US-based multinational corporate syndicate plan to ring the Earth with 24 Navstar GPS satellites, carrying radioactive cesium and rubidium atomic clocks, interfaced with their ever more sophisticated surveillance devices continuously scanning every inch of ground and water: to map and control all places; to track down, target, terrorize and destroy any who resist the corporate world order.

Navstar GPS provides extremely precise data on the exact position, altitude, and velocity of any military, police, intelligence or high-level corporate user, with less exact positioning offered as a 'spin-off' benefit to the civilian commercial sector. Like the 'civilian' use of I.G. Farben company's Zyclon-B gas for rodent control, as well as in the Nazi extermination camps, Rockwell International corporation touts the 'civilian' uses of GPS to find a handful of lost fishing boats or improve earthquake prediction—with a system designed as the targeting mechanism of high-tech global terror.

The partially completed system is already in use: it guides covert military-CIA hit squads against rebellious peasants in Latin America, and hones doomsday weapons toward first strike accuracy levels in ongoing nuclear missile flight tests. In the Gulf War, Navstar was not crucial to "finding lost soldiers in the desert" despite the propaganda claims; it did not get rid of the CIA's wayward fascist client Saddam Hussein, nor did it protect the Shiite and Kurdish rebels from being massacred with Saddam's NATO-US-Russian weaponry; but it did insure almost total destruction of the Iraqi people's electric power grid and civilian infrastructure through devastatingly accurate precision bombing.

But the remaining unlaunched satellites are essential for the full surveillance, counterinsurgency and nuclear first strike capability of the Navstar GPS system. In fact the capability of the system goes up on an exponential curve as the satellites are deployed, so the last 50% or 30% or 10% of the system provides more than that percentage of the capability. The action of the Harriet Tubman-Sarah Conner Brigade

Continued on page 63...



La Saint-Jean marchers in Montréal, Québec.



# Water troughs and fires:

On beating back the potentially violent intent of Rodney King and other darknesses

By Liam Kellen

**W**e went to California on Wednesday, April 30 for the postmodernist rendezvous, the "Persons, Passions, Powers" Interdisciplinary Conference. On Thursday, April 30 it was hard to hear the words of some 200 papers being delivered on deconstruction and subversion, on Laclau and disruptions/renewals of Marxism, on plurification of gender, interruptions in historicist politics, etc. The seminars were happening on the 4th and 5th floor of the Berkeley ASUC student center above Sproul Plaza. Outside an unruly crowd of perhaps 2,000 was making a big fuss. Finally, we closed the windows. We sweated profusely, but were able to better concentrate on the dangers of ideological reification and the essences of true radicalism and heterotemporal spontaneity.

That night city fathers declared a "voluntary curfew." KGO and other Bay Area radio stations also called this a "selective curfew." The big march in Berkeley started despite the curfew. The march was vastly multi-racial, multi-class, and multi-age group. People in Berkeley were pissed and militant, from small white kids to Hispanic senior citizens. Until 8PM, the pigs ran and hid whenever the marchers turned toward them. As "hide and seek" actions developed starting at dusk, the pigs responded by arbitrarily arresting several hundred persons. The 'thick' blue line would look at groups of persons or individuals and judge their "violent intent." If they looked like potential troublemakers (a category now big enough to grip both the much valorized "legitimate peaceful demonstrator" and its darker binary, the "lawless terrorist rioter") they were arrested. However, being a white and generally 40s-ish cadre, we evaded arrest. We had early in the day ex-

changed our black regalia for more pig-proof attire. The pigs tipped their helmets, occasionally queried us. They caught few trashers of the chain stores, but they freely arrested for curfew violation anyone with dark skin, black bandannas, Telegraph Avenue attire—that is any individual or small group they could catch. Even once the main group was fractured, however, whenever the pigs saw a larger group of protestors they tended to run away.

"My nephew had a punk bar in Pittsburgh but was closed down by the water trough ordinance," my friend commented. "The police there use several old ordinances to harass alternative businesses that they don't like. The water trough law has been on the books since 1840 and requires any public establishment to maintain a water trough for horses to drink from. It and other such ordinances are selectively evoked. Being shut down repeatedly and paying several stiff fines eventually beat my nephew."

The problem at hand for the consumer authorities in Berkeley and San Francisco was how to put water on public outrage and yet provide for public commerce, tourists, etc. Looting commodities was taboo. But an actual curfew was also taboo since it would burn merchants trying to sell these same commodities. Politically, a curfew would provide the disruption of business as usual, "...just what the troublemakers want."

By Friday, the solution practiced in both cities was to let the cops decide who's intent was 'social-political' in motive and who's intent was 'private' and legitimate. KGO, the station, "where news and traffic is yours every ten minutes," encouraged citizens to call in on

mobile car phones to report protesters. Police would then rush to the site and make the arrest. KGO, like the San Francisco mayor, repeatedly chastised whites for joining these demonstrations since, "it's not their issue—they're just troublemakers."

As I was leaving California on Sunday, KGO presented one of the few interviews with black teenagers I heard on TV or radio. The interviewer began the clip with a disclaimer narrative including this statement: "No one would advocate the breaking of glass or looting. So how can this happen?" The Oakland high school students interviewed soon confessed that rioting was fun, although they shouldn't do it, and that, given the chance, they would loot. The supplemental message is that the personae reserved for black teenagers is 'no-one'.

Sunday night we were glad to be back in Eugene. We like to think Eugene is less of a police state than California. Perhaps it is. On Monday, however, I got a disturbing phone call from my very mild mannered but semi-homeless friend Jim. Leaving a Salsa music concert at Eugene's WOW Hall Community Center on Friday night, traveling by bicycle, he had been arrested. When he called me he had just emerged from 3 full days in the Lane County Jail. The charge: cheating on a stop light and not having a light on his bicycle. On Monday he pleaded "no contest" in order to be released. He is supposed to also pay a \$79 fine on top of the jail time. "Piss on that!" says Jim. "I'm getting out of Eugene as soon as I can. I'm going back to Ohio where at least the cops don't harass you everyday."



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).



# The Day Before Yuppification

*A report from Poland By Piotr Rymarczyk*

The eighties in the West was a period of domination by right politics, as symbolized by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. When the Communist regimes had fallen, trends dominating in the West also came to Eastern Europe. The same happened in Poland. The time of the reign of Communist ideology is over, but it was immediately replaced by a "free market" ideology of competition and material success. Polish society—till not long ago anyway—had been absorbing this "new faith" with childlike confidence and a naive belief that this mythical capitalism would solve all problems. The ruling elite were more realistic in their opinions, but the affirmation of capitalism was quite convenient for them as it strengthened their economic and political masterhood.

Highly developed capitalistic countries—which presently are the ideal for the majority of Poles—are undoubtedly societies of economic well-being (which they owe in part to the exploitation of underdeveloped countries), but it's difficult to say that they are 'free' societies. The graciously reigning free market ideology notions of freedom and individualism are obstinately linked with two other conceptions—of competition and of 'success'. But, in fact, it's actually an attempt to couple contradictions because competition is possible only in a uniform society, and in a society which is hierarchical (as the possibility of promotion is necessary for this competition). Contemporary capitalist society is just like this.

"Free enterprise," now so enthusiastically praised virtually belongs to the past. One hundred years ago, a capitalist factory owner was free in the sense that he could freely exercise control over his factory, although, of course, his 'freedom' meant the enslavement of the workers. But modern capitalism isn't the capitalism of individual entrepreneurs anymore. It's a system of gigantic, bureaucratized corporations closely linked to the state apparatus.

Let's take a look at the social structure of the corporate state at the beginning of the '90s. There's a ruling elite on the top. Then there is a new middle class one cut below: yuppies, specialists, technocrats—the hired servants of the megamachine. The yuppies as a middle class traditionally perform pattern-giving functions in the system—the lower class follows their lifestyle, turning the wheels of capitalist economy while striving to buy the same consumer goods. But together with production growth, grows the middle class's standard of living, so a certain distance between the classes will never disappear and the only effects will be an increasing amount of senseless goods and a devastation of the natural environment. On the other hand, for people reluctant to take part in the rat race of the rightist elites of the '80s, a kind of social hell was created—an artificially generated space of poverty, which is the place for people rejecting the rules of competitive society. For example, in England, under Thatcher's government, the number of unemployed doubled and it probably wasn't a result of an

instant growth in the English desire for a freer way of life.

The highly developed capitalist society seems to be stable. People, who on the one hand are threatened by poverty, are at the same time seduced by a vision of wealth. They theoretically should be obedient and lacking any will for self-determination. Fortunately, they sometimes still make trouble. Workers defend themselves against being pushed into the space of poverty, students protest against changing their universities into factories which produce technical staff for capitalist corporations. In such situations the police appear on the stage—it happened in England in 1984 and in France in 1987.

The culture of modern capitalism seemingly is a pluralistic commodity culture. Seemingly it offers the people a multitude of lifestyles and of systems of moral valuation. But in fact all of them are only modes, fashions generated by the system. Their multitude and variability serve to transform their receivers into "elastic conformists" and, in this way, these people are accommodated in a highly developed technoeconomic system which is also characterized by its multitude and variability of roles. At the same time, these ideas, lifestyles and values functioning in modern capitalist culture are deprived of meaning. They don't serve to unite people by their existence; they are merely trinkets and other determining social status articles of consumption—like cars or summer homes. This is so because capitalist society—like all authoritarian societies—reifies everything: people, nature, ideas, feelings.

I criticize consumerist society but I, of course, see that it's easier to build enclaves of autonomy in conditions of economic well-being. Counter-cultural and alternative movements have developed in the rich—not the poor—countries. Unfortunately, wealth doesn't threaten Poland because it will be one of many countries of subjugated capitalism, submitted to economic exploitation by Western corporations. We shall have a Western commodity culture and a social structure similar to the Western one, but we won't have the wealth. In Poland, unlike the West, wealth—not poverty—will be an exceptional thing. Nowadays propaganda maintains that "everyone can win." This winter I saw, in the center of Warsaw, crowds of young men standing with self-abnegation behind their

street stalls in 15° weather; maybe in the future they will become a symbol of the present generation of youth and of its naive belief in propaganda's lies. Also, about the removal of young peddlers from the center of the city by police—I've heard that it happened because city authorities were bribed by rich firms—and this is symbolic. It's this way because only the elites, not the ordinary person, will profit from the restoration of capitalism. Another group which



will profit from the return of capitalism will be the Polish yuppies, a group which will come into being as a result of the transformation of the present-day intelligentsia into the system's personnel, specialized in manipulating people and nature. On the other hand, the majority of workers and a certain part of the intelligentsia won't be transformed and will be fated to live in poverty.

It's doubtful whether such a situation will awaken any type of revolutionary aspirations in those people anytime in the near future—destitution, rather, generates fascist tendencies. The poor will support "strong men" promising that they will "make order" (we've already seen this situation during Walesa's presidential campaign), but each of their subsequent choices will bring them disappointment because those whom they'll give power, of course, won't be interested in liquidating the privileges of the ruling elite.

Of course, after some time the illusions will disappear. The workers will comprehend that supporting the leaders instead of their own organizations will lead nowhere. Students will find out that economic well-being—which the system will offer to some—is connected to the necessity of foregoing freedom and taking part in a humiliating rat race. This disillusionment will undoubtedly cause protest, but its forms, extent and consequences are difficult to foresee.

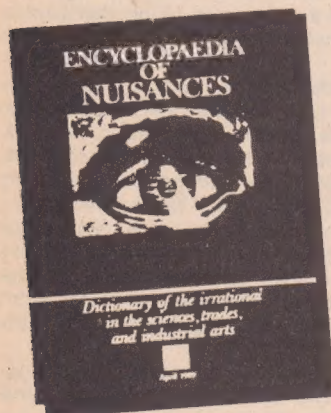
*This essay originally appeared in **Rewolta** (Piotr Salwowski, ul. Mieszka I 48, 05-090 Raszyn, Poland).*



We are always happy to exchange publications with other "alternative" periodical publishers. I try to list all the publications (of more than 2 pages) we receive in a timely way, but there are times when this is impossible due to time and space limitations. Also keep in mind that the *Anarchy* issue we send for exchanges will be the one your publication is reviewed in, so please be patient. -Jason

**GNOSIS** #23/Spring & #24/Summer '92 (POB 14217, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is a well-crafted, 82-page journal of "the Western Inner Traditions." Issue #23 includes "What is a gnostic?" by Stephan Hoeller, "Gnosticism and social action" (through "submission to the will of God!") by Charles Upton, and Peter Lamborn Wilson's excellent "Caliban's masque: Spiritual anarchy and the wild man in colonial America." Issue #24 focusses on a theme of "Saints & Scoundrels," with articles on Aleister Crowley & Tsar Nicholas. Subscriptions are now \$20.00/year (4 issues); samples are \$6.

**CHALLENGE** Vol.3, #4/July-Aug. '92 (POB 14338, Tel Aviv 61142, Israel) is a 44-page "Magazine of the Israeli Left," written "by Arabs & Jews." (It is also published in a Hebrew-language version titled *Etgar*.) This issue includes an analysis of the recent Israeli elections (which haven't changed the political landscape all that much) by Michal Schwartz, Assaf Adiv's account of "Gaza in quarantine," and a description of one of the highly-subsidized new West Bank Jewish 'settlements' titled "A place without fences" by Rebecca Stein, along with Gideon Spiro's (Israeli-gov't, censored) "Breaking the silence: Israeli nuclear policy." Highly recommended for anyone unaware of what the current situation in Israel and the occupied territories is like. Subscriptions are \$30/year (6 issues).



**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF NUISANCES** #8/April '89 (BP 188, 75665 Paris Cedex 14, France) is an interesting and witty 24-page English translation of the French-language periodical, featuring a long essay detailing the nuclear-powered exterminist trajectory of modern civilization, titled simply "Abyss." Copies are available for \$5 postpaid from MOMP, 54 State St., 5L, Brooklyn, NY. 11201.

## Alternative press review

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

**OPEN MAGAZINE** #19/May & #20/Aug. '92 (POB 2726, Westfield, NJ. 07091) is a 16 to 20-page pamphlet series, with each edition tackling a meaty subject in a literate style. Issue #19 features historian Howard Zinn's excellent "Columbus, the Indians, & human progress 1492-1992." Issue #20 features Mike Davis' compelling "L.A. was just the beginning" (Mike Davis is the author of the recent *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in L.A.*). Individual pamphlets are \$3.50 postpaid, while subscriptions are \$30/10 pamphlets.

**OFF OUR BACKS** Vol.22, #6/June, #7/July & #8/Aug.-Sept. '92 (2423 18th St. NW, Washington, DC. 20009) is a 28-page tabloid with probably the best feminist news coverage of any North American publication. Issue #6 has a feature article titled "After the fall: How women are getting screwed in the Eastern Bloc," and a good interview with Judith Levine on "Man-hating and ambivalence in women's lives." Issue #7 features "Femicide: An interview with Diana E.H. Russell." Issue #8 includes a detailed account of the 15th National Women's Studies Association conference, along with Katie Kroneberg's "Am I the only woman who regrets having children?" This is an essential magazine for anyone who wants to keep up with the ebb and flow of the feminist movement. Subscriptions are \$19/year (11 issues).

### ALSO RECEIVED:

**Earth First!** Vol.12, #5/Bellain, #6/Litha & #7/Lughnasadh '92 (POB 5176, Missoula, MT. 59806) is a 40-page tabloid of the Earth First! movement/organization. Issues #5 & #6 include contributions to the ongoing pro/anti-hunting debate, along with lots of struggle updates all over the globe. Issue #7 includes A. Caruso & K. Russell's "Journey to Borneo and the resistance of the Penan." Recommended. Subscriptions are \$20/year (8 issues).

**Liberty** Vol.6, #1/Sept. '92 (POB 1167, Port Townsend, WA. 98368) is an 80-page, right-wing 'libertarian' magazine full of short essays advocating "free market" economics and government 'deregulation'. Issue #1 includes "Property rights before and after the 'Lucas' decision" by William Melior III, Fred Smith on "Virulent green growth," and an interesting account by publisher R.W. Bradford of "How we started Liberty." Subscriptions are \$19.50/year (6 issues).

**Uncommon Desires Newsletter** #5/April & #6/June '92 (Postbus 408, 1000AK, Amsterdam, Netherlands) is a 16-page 'girl-love' newsletter. Issue #5

includes part one of a good analysis of anti-sex vs. sex-positive feminism titled "There's feminism and then there's feminism: Will the real feminism please stand up?" Issue #6 includes "United States v. Stanley: Constitutionality of Graham Ovenden's *States of Grace* tested—almost," and "Sex radical feminism: Choice and mutuality, not age, are the issues." Recommended for anyone interested in issues of pedophilia, children's sexuality, or sexual repression & 'deviance' in general. Subscriptions are now \$20/year.

**woman of power** #22/Summer '92 (POB 2785, Orleans, MA. 02653) is a proficiently produced 88-page "magazine of feminism, spirituality, and politics." This issue focusses on a theme of "Women in Community," including a chorus of voices contributing thoughts on "Building community in the '90s," a sympathetic interview with a self-pitying Andrea Dworkin (the radical feminist porn censorship advocate) ironically titled "An honorable ethic," and much, much more. Subscriptions are \$26/4 issues.

**Prison News Service** #36/May-June '92 (POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4) is an important 12-page tabloid covering North American prison issues. This issue includes Sekou Imarobge-Mussawi's "Trenton State Prison: The Bekaa Valley training kamp of the west," and "Homophobia in prison: Who does it really hurt?" Cover price is \$1.50; the suggested subscription rate is \$10/year (6 issues).



**MediaCulture Review** Vol.1, #4/June-July '92 (100 East 85 St., New York, NY. 10028) is a relatively new & important newsletter published by the Institute for Alternative Journalism. (The IAJ also maintains an on-line computer wire service carrying articles "from the independent and alternative press.") This issue includes a cover story titled

"A media view of a rioting L.A." by editor Don Hazen (editor of a new anthology titled *Inside the L.A. Riots*). Subscriptions are \$24/year (6 issues).

**Progressive Librarian** #5/Summer '92 (c/o Empire State College, SUNY School of Labor Studies Library, 330 West 42nd St., 4th Floor, New York, NY. 10036) is the 52-page journal of the leftist Progressive Librarians Guild, featuring informative pieces like Michael Harris' "No love lost: Library women vs. women who use libraries," Sanford Berman's "The 'fucking' truth about library catalogs," and a "Reader's Forum" on the value and implications of information technologies. Subscriptions are included with membership in PLG at \$5-15/year (depending upon income).

**Maximum RocknRoll** #109/June & #110/July '92 (POB 288, Berkeley, CA. 94701) is the notorious 128-page punk-zine of record. The June issue is billed as the "Absolutely Queer Issue," featuring an article on "Punk identity," "An intimate chat with Vaginal Creme Davis and Bruce La Bruce," an interview with Jon Ginoli of Pansy Division, and Lily Brindrop's "Coming out of hiding: A 'how-to,'" along with a good column by Mykel Board. Issue #110 is "A punk rock update on the Bay Area." Sample copies are \$2.50; subscriptions are \$15/6 issues.

**Komotion International Live & Kicking** #4/undated (POB 410502, San Francisco, CA. 94141-0502) is the 56-page journal of the Komotion international project which also functions as a performance space, art gallery and recording studio. This issue includes part two of an interview with Riane Eisler & David Loye titled "Sex, death, and the angry young man," and a portion of the script from Debbie Moore's "X-plicit Consumption." Subscriptions are included with membership for \$10/year (? issues)

### OTHER PUBLICATIONS:

**Lookout!** #37/Summer '92 (POB 11374, Berkeley, CA. 94701) remains a literate and highly readable zine published by Lawrence Livermore, now up to 64 pages. Unfortunately this issue has more plugs for voting and industrial development (like "high-speed trains," despite some good anti-auto criticism) than usual. Still, it's a fun read for the most part, even when Livermore's dead wrong. Send \$2 for a sample issue.

**Direct Confrontation** [unnumbered]/Dec. '91-Jan. '92 & Feb.-Mar. '92 (Constitutional Revival, Box 3182 Enfield, CT. 06083) is an 8-page right-wing, "minimal government" newsletter focussing on the Bill of Rights. The Feb.-Mar. issue details how the publisher has recently been driven from his home at gunpoint by police scum over an IRS offense. Subscriptions are still \$12/year (6 issues).

**Turning The Tide** Vol.5, #3/May-June & #4/July-Aug. '92 (POB 1990, Burbank, CA. 91507) is an 8-page tabloid published by People Against Racist



**Terror.** Issue #3 includes a piece titled "Populists, racists, Liberty Lobby: L.A.'s new-Nazi nexus." Issue #4 includes an L.A. riot post-mortem titled "Aftermath of an uprising." Subscriptions are \$6/year (6 issues).

**Incite Information** Vol.3, #2/May-June & #3/July-Aug.'92 (1507 E. Franklin St. #530, Chapel Hill, NC. 27514) is a 16-page bulletin of "News Analysis and Commentary." Issue #2 includes editor Mark Hand's defense of the notorious Leona Helmsley, and "Achtung, baby: The Nazi-CIA connection" by Mickey Z. Subscriptions are \$10/year (6 issues).

**Ideological Commentary** #56/May '92 (15 Calabria Rd., London N5 1JB, England) is a 28-page periodical pushing editor George Walford's ideology of Systematic Ideology. This issue includes a reprint of my critical review of his books *Beyond Politics & Angles on Anarchism* (from *Anarchy* #31), along with a disappointing essay by the editor titled "Work! Who needs it?" Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

**On Indian Land** #2/Mar.'92 (POB 2104, Seattle, WA. 98101) is the 12-page newsletter of Support for Native Sovereignty, including pieces on Big Mountain, the Peltier case, the Lakota & Cheyenne declaring independence, and the Lubicon boycott of Daishowa. Subscriptions are \$5-\$10/6 issues.

**The Madison Edge** Vol.3, #13/June 3, #14/June 17, #15/July 1, #16/July 15, & #17/July 29, '92 (POB 845, Madison, WI. 53701-0845) is a nicely-done 8-page alternative community biweekly tabloid. Issue #13 includes "Justice, not vengeance: Treatment of state's prisoners sparks outrage" by Nancy Rost, and "L.A. Intifada" by Allen Ruff. Issue #14 includes an interesting piece on Panama by Jon Reed. And issue #16 features an interesting article by Zoltan Grossman juxtaposing "Sarajevo and L.A.: A tale of two cities." Subscriptions are \$15/year.

**Kaspahrastr** #3/undated (Jean Heriot, 1436 SW Park Ave. #101, Portland, OR. 97201) is 32-page zine of poetry, comment, news shorts and often-interesting graphics. This issue features a piece on vagrancy as 'deliverance' titled "[How to be free]" by Isabell Eberhardt, and another installment of "Dream journal." Send \$1 for a sample copy.

**Frontier Report** Vol.2, #1/June, #2/July & #3/Aug.-Sept.'92 (POB 32814, Kansas City, MO. 64111) is an 8-page monthly, "Independent, Unconventional, Non-commercial" alternative community tabloid. Issue #2 includes a good critique of the cyberpunk fiction genre by editor Carl Bettis. Single copies are 50¢; subscriptions are \$6/year.

**The Other Israel** #52/July-Aug.'92 (I.C.I.P.P., POB 2542, Holon 58125, Israel) is the 12-page newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. Each issue is filled with accounts of recent events in the Middle East, Israel and its occupied territories from the perspective of the Israeli

peace movement. This one focusses on a detailed analysis of the recent Israeli election returns. Subscriptions are \$30/year (6 issues).

**Industrial Worker** #1546/April thru #1550/Aug.'92 (1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco, CA. 94103) is the improving 16-page newspaper of the remnant of the Industrial Workers of the World. Issue #1549 has lots of international labor news. Issue #1546 includes an all-too-familiar story titled "Anything to avoid democracy: Bosses kill co-op federation." Issue #1550 includes a thoughtful analysis of the L.A. riots by Leslie Fish titled "The tactics of riot." Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

**Deepsix Superstition** #4/Summer '92 (Alejandro de Acosta, POB 391, Hampshire College, Amherst, MA. 01002) is a remarkably interesting 24-page zine featuring detoured text & graphics juxtaposed with short essays like "Keeping the masses in the 'up' push-up position" (a comparison of the Boy Scouts with youth gangs), and "Make mine mediocre!" (on recuperation by mass media). Available for "free, for three stamps postage or trade."

**Arm The Spirit** #12/Mar.-May '92 (c/o Wild Seed Press, POB 57584, Jackson Stn., Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4X3, Canada) is a 16-page newsletter "focussing on militant and revolutionary struggles." This issue includes "L.A. did the right thing" by Ray Levasseur, along with a communique from the dinosaurs of the German Red Army Fraction. Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

**Green Synthesis** #36/Aug.'92 (L.E.D., POB 1858, San Pedro, CA. 90733) is an irregular, 16-page zine officially associated with the Greens [USA]. This issue includes "The population question, three views: Bill McCormick, Charlie Keil, and Murray Bookchin," Mike Muench's brave green world proposal for "Some politics for a green party." Subscriptions are \$10/(8 issues).

**Utne Reader** #52/July-Aug '92 (Box 1974, Marion, OH. 43305) is the 172-page **Readers' Digest** of the left-liberals. Issue #52 features a section titled "On the Importance of being tribal," while issue #53 features reprints on the subject of "Money" (no talk of abolishing it or ending capitalism, of course), and a few pieces defending tobacco smoking. Subscriptions are \$18/year (6 issues).

**Guerita** #1/April '92 (Allie, Box 2115, MHC, S. Hadley, MA. 01075) is an outspoken & fun-to-read, new 24-page feminist mini-zine. Send a 29¢ stamp for a copy.

**Body Memories** #3/Summer Solstice '92 (POB 14941, Berkeley, CA. 94701) is a 22-page quarterly zine making an attempt at exploring, as its subtitle says, "Radical Perspectives on Childhood Sexual Abuse." This issue includes "Backlash" by Gale, "The rebellion in L.A.," and a personal piece by Gale titled "Two A.M.: May 3, 1992." Subscriptions are \$8/year (4 issues).

**Small Press Review** #232/May, #233/June & #234-5/July-Aug.'92 (POB 100, Paradise, CA. 95967) is a 16 to 24-page review of small press poetry and fiction. The theme of double issue #234-5 is "Editors Speak," featuring short essays by eight literary small press editors on their experiences in publishing. Subscriptions are \$20/year (12 issues).

**Industrial Nation** #5/Summer '92 (114½ E. College St. #16, Iowa City, IA. 52240) is a 62-page, journal-sized industrial music zine, featuring interviews with Frontline Assembly, Chem Lab, Nitzer Ebb and Skinny Puppy. Subscriptions are \$10/4 issues.

**Moral Purity** unnumbered/Litha 9992 (Box 21521, 1850 Commercial Dr., Vancouver, B.C., V5N 4A0) is a 48-page zine for "feminist & queer & earth & class & prison & peace & youth & elder & animal lib & First Nations & anti-racism & health & AIDS & disabled & anti-state activists." Send stamps or a donation for a copy.

**Katúah Journal** #35/Summer '92 (POB 638, Leicester, NC. Katúah Province 28748) is an interesting, 36-page bioregional tabloid for the Katúah region of Appalachia. This issue focusses on consensus decision-making. Subscriptions are \$10/year (4 issues).



**SubconsciousSoup** Vol.2, #2/Summer '92 (POB 421272, Kissimmee, FL. 34742) is a 40-page pro-hippy, "Magazine of Free Thought and Counter Cultures," this time with a couple of awesome cover graphics by Victor Moscoso. Send \$2 + two 29¢ stamps for a sample copy; subscriptions are \$10/year.

**The Village Idiot** #16/May-Aug.'92 (POB 66, Harrison, ID. 83833-0066) is an unpretentious and pleasantly readable 48-page literary journal. This issue includes fiction by Johnny Boggs, Cindy Rosmus and Michael McDade, along with some commentary on "Legislating morality" by Dail Chaffin. Recommended if you have time for an afternoon's pleasure-reading in a hammock. Sample copies \$3; subscriptions are \$7.50/3 issues.

**ApaEros** #39/April & #40/May (John & Kathe Burt, 960 SW Jefferson Ave., Corvallis, OR. 97333) is a 32-page

"unedited reader-written forum about sex, erotica and relationships of all kinds: het, lesbian, gay, bi." Issue #39 is a bit disappointing, including chapter 4 of Carl Herr's now rather bloody story, "Surrealism." But issue #40 is back on track with "The pornographer's tale," Peter Cummings' "Big clit song and dance," and Sandy Locke's "Woman's best friend." Subscriptions are \$2/-issue, but you must also send an age statement (that you are over 18).

**Dreamtime Village** #2/Spring '92 (Rt.2, Box 242W, Viola, WI. 54464) is a 24-page newsletter documenting the "embryonic beginnings of a permaculture hypermedia village in southwest Wisconsin" on donated land, complete with a big old school building, fire truck & bookmobile! The founders are looking for more warm bodies to populate the place. Send \$2 for a sample copy.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ALSO RECEIVED:

**WDR/World Domination Review** #3/Summer & #4/Fall '92 (Larry Taylor, POB 762, Madison, WI. 53701-0762) 16pp. bizarre humor "Journal of Amateur Political Paranoia." Sample copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$4/4 issues.

**Twisted Image** #40/May & #41/June '92 (1630 University Ave. Apt.26, Berkeley, CA. 94703) 10pp. amusing comics zine published by Ace Backwords. Sample copies are \$1; subscriptions are \$12/year.

**The Uprising** unnumbered/undated (Friends of Political Prisoners, Box 3113, Madison, WI. 53704) 6pp. tract on the L.A. uprising by Marion prisoner Raymond Luc Levasseur. Send a contribution for a copy.

**Lo Straniero** #13/1992 (I. Corsaro, via Chiala 149, 80121 Napoli, Italy) 8pp. giant-sized, multi-lingual paper "devoted to the study of estrangement." Copies are \$5; free to declared "economically bohemians."

**Meshuggah** #3/Feb. & #4/June '92 (Fehl Press, 2226 Hennepin Ave., Box 20, Minneapolis, MN. 55405) 12-16pp. entertaining "Journal of Odd Opinion, Insufferable Folly, Vacuous Nonsense, and Lies." Subscriptions are \$5/5 issues (checks to Fehl!).

**The American Rationalist** Vol.37, #1/May-June & #2/July-Aug.'92 (POB 994, St. Louis, MO. 63188) 16pp. newsletter subtitled "The alternative to religious superstition." Subscriptions are \$6/year (6 issues).

**MSRRT Newsletter** Vol.5, #5/June-July & #6/Aug.'92 (Chris Dodge/Jan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Mpls, MN. 55407) 16pp. 'socially-responsible' librarians' newsletter. Send a 52¢ SASE for a sample.

**Nukewatch Pathfinder** unnumbered/Summer '92 (The Progressive Foundation, POB 2658, Madison, WI. 53701-2658) 4pp. 'nonviolent' anti-nuke tabloid. Send an SASE.

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## Alternative press review

Continued from previous page

**The Adventures of Quack** unnumbered/undated (685 Italian Crk. Rd., Kalama, WA. 98625) 12pp. tabloid zine of straightforwardly bizarre comics, poetry & fiction. Send \$1 for a sample copy.

**The Gateway Greens' Compost-Dispatch** Vol.3, #6/June, #7/July & #8/Aug.'92 (Gateway Green Alliance, POB 8094, St. Louis, MO. 63156) 8pp. local/regional environmental newsletter. Subscriptions are included with membership in GGA at \$25/year (12 issues).

**Dachau** #8/undated (POB 5663, Norman, OK. 73070) 24pp. "Cyberpunk" issue of this graphically oriented Okie punkzine. Samples are \$1 postpaid.

**Alternative Press Index** Vol.24, #1/Jan.-Mar.'92 (POB 33109, Baltimore, MD. 21218) 109pp. quarterly, library-style index to a wide range of alternative and radical periodicals—including anarchic publications like the **Fifth Estate**, **Kick it Over**, **Our Generation**, and **Social Anarchism**, as well as **Anarchy**. Subscriptions are \$30/year (4 issues) for individuals & movement groups.

**Institute for Social Ecology Newsletter** Vol.11, #2/Spring '92 (POB 89, Plainfield, VT. 05667) 16pp. bulletin of the Institute for Social Ecology and general green organizational news. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**New Indicator** Vol.17, #6/Jan.29, thru #10/Apr.23.'92 (Student Co-op Center, U.C. San Diego, B-203, La Jolla, CA. 92093) 4-12pp. scrappy 'progressive' leftist student tabloid. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

**Loving More** #31/Summer '92 (PEP, POB 6306, Captain Cook, HI. 96704-6306) 16pp. polyfidelity newsletter subtitled "A group marriage journal & network." Subscriptions are \$25/year (4 issues).

**Rural Southern Voice For Peace** #62/May-June '92 (FOR, 1898 Hannah Branch Rd., Burnsville, NC. 28714) 20pp. liberal/religious peace newsletter. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Seattle Community Catalyst** Vol.3, #1/May, #2/June & #3/July '92 (5031 University Way NE, Rm.2, Seattle, WA. 98105) 16pp. eco-peace-community tabloid. Subscriptions are \$15/year (12 issues).

**The Geis Letter** #5/June & #6/July '92 (POB 11408, Portland, OR. 97211) 8pp. personal zine of "Thought crime, Dogmacide, and Intellectual Heresy" from the former publisher of **Science Fiction Review**. Subscriptions are \$1/issue.

**The Fire Fly** #16/Spring '92 (Box 1077, Mission, SD. 57555) 6pp. interesting locally-oriented newsletter that's just moved from Ely, Minnesota to the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. Subscriptions are now \$5.00/6 months (6 issues).

**LUNO** unnumbered/June & July '92 (31960 SE Chin St., Boring, OR. 97009) 10pp. newsletter of the Learning Unlimited Network of Oregon. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

**Sez Me** #5 & #7/undated (c/o John Burt, 960 SW Jefferson Ave., Corvallis, OR. 97333) 16pp. "opinionated little review zine." Send an SASE or trade.

**Artpaper** Vol.11, #10/Summer '92 (2402 University Ave. W. #206, St. Paul, MN. 55114) 32pp. tabloid subtitled "Art/Community/Cultural Activism." Subscriptions are \$20/year (10 issues).

**The Long Beach Guts-ette** #5/May '92 (Guillotine Press, POB 2730, Long Beach, CA. 90801) 6pp. poetry zine. Send an SASE for a sample.

**From The Ashes** #14/May & #15/June '92 (POB 1347, Phoenix, AZ. 85001) 16pp. local alternative culture scene zine. Send a contribution for a sample copy while they last (#15 is the "final issue").

**Reclaiming Newsletter** #47/Summer '92 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA. 94114) 32pp. pagan newsletter "working to unify spirit and politics." Subscriptions are \$6-\$25/year (4 issues).

**We Are The Weird** Vol.8, #21/June 29, & #22/July '92 (POB 2002, Dallas, TX. 75221) 16pp. "America's only weekly fanzine" of weird movies and drive-ins. Subscriptions are \$35/year (52 issues).

**The Nuclear Resister** #84/June & #85/July '92 (POB 43383, Tucson, AZ. 85733) 8pp. anti-nuclear, civil resistance tabloid. Subscriptions are \$18/year (10 issues).

**Jabiru Tribe** #3/June & #4/July '92 (POB 3648, Corpus Christi, TX. 78463-3648) 4pp. lively alternative community tabloid. Send an SASE for a sample.

**Methodical Fall** unnumbered/undated (POB 80572, Mpls, MN. 55408) 6pp. free-form zine. Send an SASE for a sample.

**Newsletter for our english speaking friends** unnumbered/Aug.'92 (POB 810361, D85 Nürnberg, Germany) 12pp. German "children's rights commune" newsletter. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Angry People** unnumbered/undated (Box 183, Waterloo, NSW 2017, Australia) 8pp. bash-the-rich zine. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Slug & Lettuce** unnumbered/undated (Christine, POB 2067, Peter Stuy. Stn., NYC, NY. 10009) is an 8-page contact tabloid providing free classi-

fied, along with punk gig photos and reviews. Send an SASE or 2 IRCs for a copy.

**Conformist** #1/July '92 (James Reling, 1440 Riverside Ave., Boulder, CO. 80304) 10-page zine "for thoughts and mockeries of our society." Send two 29¢ stamps for a copy.

**Awaken** undated/unnumbered (Sleeping Body, 5704 Wharton Dr., Fort Worth, TX. 76133) 4pp. Sleeping Body band's zine. Send an SASE for a copy.

**Storm Warning!** #23/July '92 (VVAW-AI, 4710 University Way NE., Suite 1612, Seattle, WA. 98105) 24pp. anti-imperialist veterans newsletter. Subscriptions are \$15/2 years.

**Socialist Challenge** Vol.2, #2/June-July '92 (Box 4955, Vancouver, B.C., V4B 4A6, Canada) 12pp. Trotskyist political newspaper. Subscriptions are \$5/year (6 issues).

**Gazette** Vol.9, #6/July-Aug.'92 (Box 34090, Scotia Square, Halifax, N.S., B3J 3S1, Canada) 24pp. "lesbians and gay men's" newsmagazine for "Atlantic Canada." Subscriptions are \$18/year (12 issues?).

**The Eastern Quill** #1/Aug.'92 (Entropic Media Prod., 304 Bentinck St., Apt.1, Sydney, N.S., B1P 1G9, Canada) 28pp. new alternative magazine for Atlantic Canada. Subscriptions are \$12/6 issues.

**Republican Liberty** Vol.3, #2/Spring '92 (RLC, 1717 Apalachee Parkway, Suite 434, Tallahassee, FL. 32301) 12pp. newsletter for a self-described 'libertarian' caucus in the Republican Party. Subscriptions are \$20/year (4 issues).

**Noisy Concept** #15/May-July & #16/Aug.-Sept.'92 (621 Bassett Rd., Bay Village, OH. 44140) 12pp. "readers' forum" zine. Single copies are 50¢ & a 29¢ stamp; subscriptions are \$5/10 issues.

**Blue Ryder** #24/July-Aug.'92 (POB 587, Olean, NY. 14760) 4pp. tabloid consisting of "excerpts from underground, small press, and micropress publications." Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues).

**Pagans for Peace** #55/July 9992 A.D.A. (POB 86134, North Vancouver, B.C. V7L 4J5, Canada) 10pp. newsletter for socially-activist pagans. Subscriptions are \$10/year (6 issues).

**The Outlander** #57/June & #67/Aug.'92 (POB 585, Mountlake Terrace, WA. 98043-0585) 8pp. prisoners' zine. Send a donation for a sample copy.

**Thieves and Prostitutes** unnumbered/undated 4009 Johnson St., Hollywood, CA. 33021) 12pp. zine for Christian punk evangelizing. Avoid this one.

**Psychedelic Prisoners Newsletter** unnumbered/undated (923 Brookhaven Drive, Frankfurt, KY. 40601) 10pp. newsletter "by and for prisoners incarcerated for violation of psychedelic drug prohibition laws." Send a "donations of stamps or cash" for a copy.

**Beatnik Soup** #3/May & #4/Aug.'92 (3321 Echo Dells, Stevens Point, WI. 54481) 24-36pp. "Art and Literary Magazine for a New Generation," primarily a poetry-zine. Cover price is \$1.25.

**Bushwhacker** #5/undated (Jason, POB 3458, Berkeley, CA. 94703) 28pp. newly transplanted punkzine. Copies are "25¢ + a couple of stamps."

**Alarm** #3/Summer Solstice '92 (POB 804, Burlington, VT. 05402) 12pp. "A Voice of Northeast Earth First!" Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Sparcplug** Vol.2, #2/May '92 (685 Venice Blvd., Venice, CA. 90291-4897) 16pp. newsletter of the multicultural Social and Public Art Resource Center. Subscription included with membership at \$25/year.

**These EXIT Times** #2/1992 (POB 86646, Portland, OR. 97286-0646) 20pp. newsletter of the Voluntary Human Extinction Movement (VHEMT). Send an SASE for a sample.

**The Terra Firm** #2/undated (The Mundi Club, 46 Albany St., Spring Bank, Hull, HU3 1PL, England) 24pp. "Theoretical Journal for Deep Greens," this issue titled "Ban Cars." Send £2 for a sample copy.

**Mappa Mundi** #2/undated (46 Albany St., Spring Bank, Hull, HU3 1PL, England) 24pp. zine "Exposing the Global Eco-Terrorists." Send £1.50 for a sample copy.

### FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS:

**L'Unité Humaine** #1/Jan.-Mars & #2/Avril-Juin '92 (L'Alliance Universelle, 73 Av. de la Résistance, 83000 Toulon, France) 4pp. French-language journal aiming at world "brotherhood and peace," with heavy Christian overtones. Subscriptions are 100F/year (4 issues).

**Merlin's Music Box** #11/April '92 (Yiannis Kastanaras, Argiroupoleos 27, Athens 114 71, Greece) is a slick, colorful, 64-page Greek-language punk zine. This issue includes a special 16-page "Seattle Sound" Encyclopedia insert. Cover price is 500 drachmas.

**Kleintje Muurkrant** #250/April & #251/Mai 20, '92 (Postbus 703, 5201 AS, 's-Hertogenbosch, Netherlands) 6-16pp. left-activist newspaper. Subscriptions are 25 guilders/year (? issues).

**Encyclopédie des Nuisances** #14/Nov.'89 (B.P. 188, 75665 Paris Cedex 14, France) is a 36-page French-language periodical containing a 12-page insert in this issue titled "Que sommes-nous sans elle?" Subscriptions are 150F/4 issues. (Copies are also available for \$5 postpaid from MOMP, 54 State St., #5L, Brooklyn, NY. 11201.)

**CDP Notiziario** #118/Aprile '90 (CDP, via degli Orati 29, CP 347, 51100 Pistoia, Italy) 32pp. Italian-language magazine of the Centro di Documentazione Pistoia. Subscriptions are L. 25,000.



# Ecstatic reveries

Review by Jason McQuinn

*Ecstatic Incisions* by Freddie Baer (AK Press, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, FK8 2RD, Scotland, 1992) 74pp. \$12.00 8½x11 paper.

*Maggie Reveries* by James Koehnline (Autonome-media, POB 568 Williamsburgh Station, Brooklyn, NY. 11211-0568, 1992) unpaginated 8½x11 paper, no price listed.

One of the first things anyone notices in reading this magazine is the consistently inspiring collage work of *Anarchy* contributing artists Freddie Baer, Johann Humyn Being and James Koehnline. When asked, most people will say that they read the letters first, before tackling the news, reviews, columns and features. But who doesn't notice the graphic art before anything else?

Fortunately, each of these collage artists is prolific enough to have appeared in many other venues besides *Anarchy* magazine, but heretofore if you wanted to enjoy the pleasures provided by the contemplation of assemblages of their purely graphic illuminations, you were out of luck. No more. By fortuitous coincidence AK Press and Autonome-media have just published fantastic collections of collages by Freddie Baer and James Koehnline, respectively. (Can a collection from Johann Humyn Being be far behind?) Both are well-designed (by the artists

themselves), large-format 8½" by 11" books. But beyond superficial similarities, they diverge to display distinct styles and personalities, reflected throughout.

Freddie Baer is a Chicago-born anarchist activist turned Bay Area graphic artist. The collection of her work, *Ecstatic Incisions*, spans the last 11 years from her first (and oft reprinted) collage—"Bosses, the Real Time Bandits"—to some of her latest T-shirt and periodical illustrations. During this time she has contributed to a host of periodicals including *Fifth Estate*, *Fact-sheet Five*, *Semiotext[e]* and *Science Fiction Eye*. As well, she has designed posters, album covers, and an amazing number of T-shirts. In fact, since January 1989, she's designed and produced some of her best collage work on a regular basis for her ongoing T-shirt of the Month Club. (Three-month subscriptions to the club are \$30 to: F.Baer, c/o Mystopia, POB 410151, S.F., CA. 94141-0151.)

*Ecstatic Incisions* is introduced with a concise and revealing "20 Questions for Freddie Baer," which explore her social-political and visual art perspectives, influences, graphic design projects and goals, all of which give the collages which follow even more meaning. Through extensive use of 19th century engravings and a relatively new-found fondness for pattern and texture, her collages often take on

the surreal ambiance of landscapes from another planet or scenes from an unstable mixture of divergent worlds. Disconcerting dichotomies of machine/nature, war/spirit and love/death find display in abundant variations. As Peter Lamborn Wilson puts it in the preface, with Freddie's collage each "can be said to imply its own 'caption' in its very form."

James Koehnline leaves fewer biographical traces, but no fewer graphic revelations, in the collection titled *Maggie Reveries*. In its "Preface to an Exfoliation of Desire," Hakim Bey describes the influences of Hieronymous Bosch, William Blake, Rodolfe Bresdin and Gaston Bachelard on the topology of Koehnline's "iconographic mandalas." And, indeed, his collages often do take on the appearance, as Bey says, of "a cluttered altar raised in honor of consciousness or perception itself," with a static dance of choreographed elements oriented around a focal body. His "Legend of the Great Dismal Maroons" (in *Anarchy* #28/Spring '91) exhibits a comprehensive vision of his social-political perspectives. Unlike *Ecstatic Incisions*, *Maggie Reveries* appears to be made up completely of collages which have never appeared elsewhere (though surely they will soon be found reprinted everywhere!). Each collage appears on the recto page (with no printing on its reverse side), making them easily removable for posting or framing.

James Koehnline's work has appeared most recently in periodicals such as *Gnosis* and *Fifth Estate*, on album covers, and especially on the covers of new books published by Autonome-

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Collage from *Maggie Reveries* by James Koehnline.



Collage from *Ecstatic Incisions* by Freddie Baer.



# In Search of the Primitive

Review by Breathe

*In Search of the Primitive: A Critique of Civilization* by Stanley Diamond (Transaction Books, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ., 1974) 387pp. \$ paper.

Okay, you intellectual spear-throwing primitives in civilization's closet, this may be the book for you. Stanley Diamond has a lot to share in his book, *In Search of the Primitive*, and although his occasionally obtuse academic wanderings and Marxist veneer may be annoying, he has enough insights into the very real contrast between primitive cultures and our own to make it well worth the read.

*In Search of the Primitive* is a collection of 10 diverse essays aimed at "the resolution of the primitive-civilized conflict in our society and in ourselves." They range from scholarly critiques of his anthropological colleagues to exciting tales of mingling with the Anaguta of central Nigeria to insightful definitions and descriptions of primitive society and our own.

Just what is primitive culture? Stanley describes what he sees as some of the general characteristics of primitive peoples. For instance, they have "communal economies"—that is "Those material means essential to the survival of the individual or the group are... actively held in common..." or, the equivalent, are accessible to all.

"Society operates through custom and by well understood informal sanctions, not by means of a legal apparatus administered from above."

"Primitive societies tend to be societies in equilibrium...Progress is a reality of personal growth, a progress through society, not of society." Characteristic is a lack of revolutions and reform movements.

The organization of society by kin is the personal vital heart of primitive culture. "All significant economic, social, and ideological functions are discharged within and among kin or quasi-kin groupings...society thus functions on a personal, corporate, and traditional basis rather than on an impersonal, civil, and individualized basis."

The breakdown (conquering) of this kin based society results in the civilized isolation of the individual. "What we call romantic love, for example, the underlying theme in contemporary American popular culture, is grounded in the sense of personal isolation...Not only has the family ceased to be the center for economic, political and cultural activity, but each member is typically involved with one or another collective for the greater part of his waking life—the school, the factory, the business ...the family does,

however, stimulate dependency needs, and then, because of inadequate resolution, intensifies frustration while maintaining a high level of infantile expectation." The romantic lover projects this "deprivation of affect within the nuclear family immobilized within a bureaucratic society" as falling in love; the other person being "the epitome of all stimulated but unresolved, imagined but unexperienced relations with the family—father, mother, sister, brother, aunt, uncle, baby... romantic love, culturally defined, is not an expression of feeling, but of feeling's absence."

"Among primitive peoples, of course, the experience which we define as romantic love is largely unknown; affective relations are differentiated and discharged throughout the life cycle and kin groups or kin surrogate groups are the center of cultural activity."

One issue Stanley explores in depth is the contrast between western, platonic, ideal modes of thought and their "substantially concrete, existential and nominalistic...personalistic" primitive counterparts. He quotes Franz Boas: "Primitive man (sic)...is not in the habit of discussing abstract ideas...discourses on qualities without connection with the object to which

the qualities belong, or of activities or states disconnected from the idea of the actor or the subject being in a certain state, will hardly occur in primitive speech." In western behavior, on the other hand, Stanley says, "quantification becomes etherealized which is...a political, philosophic, and, finally, a scientific process." This behavior is "abstract and analytic; impersonal and mechanical, in short, collectivized, that is involved with aggregates of individuals, in pursuit of specialized activities that tend to transform their human associations into technical, or even merely spatial, arrangements. Personae are substituted for persons."

"Primitive society is a community, springing from common origins, composed of reciprocating persons, and growing from within." Alternatively, "collectives emerge in civilization...a collective has the form of a community but lacks the substance; it is involved with the concept 'public' which is not at all the same as the idea of the social. The fully functioning, highly individuated member of society is the antithesis of the public man...the public is a reification, a projection of our partial lives, and its mode of existence, its expression of energy, its revenge is what we have come to call vio-



Collage by James Koehnline (POB 85777, Seattle, WA. 98145-1777).



lence, and the problem of violence."

Unfortunately, this type of interesting critical exploration is not applied towards some of the marxist underpinnings of Diamond's thoughts. The task for radicals, he concludes his book by saying, "is to rebuild an authentic politics—not absolutist, but dialectical, Marxist." Although at times critical of certain aspects of communist regimes, as in the "sinister use of behaviorist political techniques by the Soviet Establishment", nowhere does he see the link between Marxist ideology and this type of oppressive outcome; while critical of bureaucratic societies, he seems not to see their seeds in the vanguardist, utilitarian, power politics advocated by Marx.

His feelings on anarchism are made clear in the final essay "What History Is": "...to a thorough and consistent Marxist, anarchism as both

a means and an immediate end, is equivalent to bondage, since the anarchist is at the mercy of the social forces which he (sic) seeks to escape by terroristic or self-isolating methods." This thinking reveals not only a shallow understanding of anarchism, but is contradictory to his numerous praises of anarchist practices among primitives.<sup>1</sup> It also seems egotistic—does Stanley claim to be above "the social forces" he speaks of? Or just integrated with them? (Hardly an improvement!)

Despite these shortcomings, *In Search of the Primitive* is rich with insight into primitive peoples and the relevance of their ways to the civilized; wisely, he appreciates their wisdom without idolizing them. There is much in this book that makes me hopeful: perversions of human culture like our own society are not universal. Stanley Diamond faces the dark

violent core of civilization eating our primitive hearts, and fights back.

1. e.g., when describing leadership roles in primitive communities, he quoted W.H. Rivers: "When studying the warfare of the people of the Western Solomon Islands, I was unable to discover any evidence of definite leadership...in the councils of such people there is no voting or other means of taking the opinion of the body...the members of the council become aware at a certain point, that they (are) in agreement, and it (is) not necessary to bring the agreement explicitly to notice," and Erich Kahler to the effect the "primitive man is not a mere reflex of the group." On the contrary, "the group is embedded, indeed embodied, in the very individuality of the individual."

## Laws of the Jungle

Reviewed by Ben G. Price

*Laws of the Jungle* by Allen Thornton (Mermaid Press, Box 183, Vermillion, OH. 44089, 1987) unpaginated \$2.50 paper.

The 213 aphorisms that compromise this book are "a few thoughts of an anarchist," according to the author, although we'll have to take him at his word on that count, since the aphorisms themselves suggest many contradictory points of view. Unless that is what it is to be an anarchist. In which case Thornton has defined himself as one amply well. Or painted himself into a corner of incredulity.

Allen Thornton allows as to how he is "by prejudice...chauvinistic, by temperament, conservative," and here his candor is closer to the mark than is his portrayal of political and economic reality. There is, throughout, ample evidence that he supports a rather (to my thinking) muddled form of anarcho-capitalism. In fact, capitalism 'unleashed' from the constraints of social regulation seems to be championed alongside more 'traditional' (dare I say 'orthodox'?) anarchist philosophy. The mish-mash of juxtaposed assertions leave an impression that a not-so-subtle bait and switch is being perpetrated, akin to the deregulatory promises that ushered-in Reaganomics. The gist of this Voodoo economics (to allude to an equally anarchist luminary) is that if you get government "off the backs" of entrepreneurs, their "innate genius" (Reagan's inane term) will be unleashed. By seeming to follow the same reasoning, Thornton fails to challenge the underlying hierarchical assumptions of capitalism, and thus casts doubt on his sometimes pithy arguments in favor of 'anarchy'.

The laws of the jungle that are herein opined to be universally applicable begin with the assumption of a capitalistic, industrialized society from which only government must be extracted in order to establish rational anarchy. With the removal of state regulation of economic behavior, things will get better, we are to believe. The hierarchy of corporate management, however, would remain intact, finalizing the social evolution from agrarian feudalism to industrial oligarchy, with social Darwinism emerging triumphant over the democratic

statist experiments that have, it must be admitted, yielded barren promises and nominal benefits to citizens of expanding empires expansive enough to allow domestic subjects the illusion of self-direction.



It's amazing how much like Ronald Reagan so much of it sounds. I dare say it wouldn't take the scissor-wielding talent of a William Burroughs to snip the aphorisms in this book into two even shorter books: one, a Republican Party platform guide, the other a daring complaint against government in general, with real, practical notions about what life without government would be like. I wish I had read the latter 'book' instead of the present crazy quilt of ideas.

The one constraint on freewheeling economic volition to which Thornton concedes, the "single law which everyone could accept: 'No trespassing,'" deserves close scrutiny since it stands as the moral, political, philosophical covenant he finds acceptable. The difficulty with this one law is, as with all laws in a conservative regime, it codifies the status quo. This is hardly the mark of anarchy. In fact, it is not the "law of the jungle" at all, but rather the "golden rule" twisted to the service of those who already rule by ownership that Thornton advocates. Which is to say that we are better believing the author's assertion about his chauvinism and conservatism than his characterization of himself as an anarchist.

There were patches of light throughout (but not quite a thousand points) that made it evident the author had seriously considered

anarchy's implications and repercussions. Thornton is to be congratulated for actually grappling with what a true 'state' of anarchy would be like, and how it would be self-governed. In aphorism 172, he says quite nicely, "Anarchy is like jazz; it is the continuous creation of social forms in real time." And he almost has it right. Anarchy is like jazz. But if the continuous creation of social forms in historical times constitutes the evolution of government and the state, it must be because hierarchy was at play in the creation of those social forms. Playing out a "jazzed-up" social hierarchy in status quo real-time, without government, would be no less static than the state. It would be a state by any other name. A state of feudalism, if I'm not mistaken. Chauvinistic, conservative, stateless, but certainly not anarchy.

### Ecstatic reveries

Continued from page 13

dia & Semiotext[e], as well as on his Festaludicon postcard series. These latter (books & postcards) have to be seen to begin to appreciate their full color splendor. (The postcards are available from James Koehnline, POB 85777, Seattle, WA. 98145.)

What's wrong with these collections? The biggest complaint I've heard to date is that they're both "too short," but that should be corrected by future collections which I'm sure we'll be seeing from both Baer and Koehnline, once these editions sell out, as they surely both will. Soon. Aside from the cover of *Magpie Reveries*, another problem is the lack of color collage reproductions. As Freddie Baer says in her "20 Questions" interview, "I'd love to do more color collage work, but no one can afford to reproduce it." Perhaps in the near future, the alternative press will begin to devote more resources to printing full-color graphic art. I sure hope to see *Anarchy* magazine do so.



# Alternative press books

Short reviews by J.G. Eccarius, J. McQuinn, E. Munch & T. Otter

## Threat by Example

*Threat by Example* compiled by Martin Sprouse (Pressure Drop Press, POB 460754, San Francisco, CA. 94146, 1990) 134pp. \$9.00 8½x11 paper (\$8.00 postpaid direct from the publisher).

For anyone interested in knowing more about some of the lives and ideas of the people behind the late '80s punk scene, especially in the areas on the fringes or outside of the band performances, *Threat by Example* isn't just an important document, it's a fascinating read. The book contains contributions of prose, lyrics, photos, and graphic art from 27 people involved & identified in various ways with the punk scene whose common tie is having at one time or another inspired the book's compiler/editor, Martin Sprouse.

As a co-editor of *Maximum RocknRoll*, Sprouse has been in a good position to notice and appreciate contributions from quite a few directions within the punk milieu, including zine editors & writers, music distributors, and band members. Before seeing the book most readers won't even have heard of the greater number of contributors, but listening to their stories will introduce readers to new people in a fairly informal and appealing way that may well make them wish these people were their friends, too. If the title at first seems pretentious, ultimately the book comes through in enough ways to make it true. Like any collection, the contributions are uneven, but there are enough strong personalities (and damn good writers) here to inspire any reader. -J.M.

## The Sagebrush Bohemian

*The Sagebrush Bohemian: Mark Twain in California* by Nigey Lennon (Paragon House, New York, 1990) 203pp. \$19.95 hardcover.

He stood for a universal, and thus completely dangerous, sort of political radicalism: anti-monarchical, anti-imperialist, anti-war, anti-religious, pro-humanist—and this made him very unpopular during the McCarthyite fifties in the United States." (preface, p.XVII). This quote from *The Sagebrush Bohemian* may surprise you when I inform you that the author's statement describes Mark Twain. Most Americans identify Twain as a humorist and are completely unaware of Twain's other face.

Lennon's book looks at Twain's early years in the North American West, a part of Twain's life usually overlooked. You can follow Twain's development as an outstanding writer and discover how Twain came by his pen name. (There is more to that story than most people know).

I gave the book a high rating on revealing

Twain as more than a humorist in the early years of his career. Many so-called Twain experts claim he became cynical with age, deaths in his family and failed financial adventures, and therefore began to criticize the system. *The Sagebrush Bohemian*, however, informs that reader that Twain from the beginning wished to be more than a humorist. Lennon's book mentions Twain's journalistic efforts to report police brutality, bad prison conditions, and a brutal mob-action against a Chinese man in San Francisco. Most of these articles were censored. Twain's success in writing about the injustice he saw made him an enemy of the San Francisco Police Department.

You will find Twain once was anti-Semitic, and believed that the Hawaiians needed the Christian church. Yet Twain did move away from these and other prejudices. Lennon points out that even when Twain disliked the ways of others he still possessed a sense of respect for what he considered to be their rights. His humanitarian progression unfolds beautifully in the book.

One detail deeply bothered me, and I cannot let it go by unmentioned: the degrading label of 'savage' which Lennon attaches to Arabs and Native Americans. What effect she desires from the name-calling I am not sure.

But the information about Twain makes the book worth reading. I recommend it to any Twain fan. -E.M.

## The Gay Nineties

*The Gay Nineties: An anthology of Contemporary Gay Fiction* edited by Phil Willkie and Greg Baysans (The Crossing Press, 22-D Roache Rd. Box 207, Freedom, CA. 95019, 1991) 224pp. \$10.95 paper.

Greg Baysans and Phil Willkie have compiled an excellent anthology of short stories which originally appeared in *The James White Review*, a gay men's literary quarterly. Self-discovery, comedy, tragedy—a wide range of feelings and experiences are shared by authors of "different generations, races, ethnic and economic backgrounds." (introduction) There are no lack of serious topics in the anthology, but they are well balanced with creative humor, as in Thomas McKague's "Flying Low": "they did send their minister over to our house once, an imposing woman with a Bible and huge breasts (actually, her shape resembled the continent of Africa). She told us that two men living together in sin...didn't necessarily preclude damnation. I told her that we were already members of the Church for Fallen-Away Catholics, and asked if she would like to join us in a drink." (P.152) Authors include David Steinberg, Walter Rico Burrell, Leonard Tirado,

James White, David Feinberg, James Tushinski, and Felice Picano, to name only a few. -T.O.

## Freeplay

*Freeplay* by Len Bracken (Backbone Books, 1142 North Stuart St., Arlington, VA. 22201, 1990) 192pp. paper, no price listed.

In Bracken's world you'll meet the Players, an anarchistic grouping of neo-Yippies who play with both technology and the mind. There isn't much of a plot, but as you travel with the likes of Cam, Tancredo and Mirjana you'll be treated to magic mushrooms, thumbnail sketches of new ecological and synergistic philosophies, and jaw popping technovocabulary.

*Freeplay* is a demanding book; sometimes you'll find a new concept in every paragraph, and a page may be enough for a day's mental digestion. I particularly enjoyed the chapter "Microgeographic Survey" which describes an anarchistic, ecologically sound community capable of coexisting with a third world economy. -J.G.E.

## Tuareg

*Tuareg* by S. Colman (Dawn Press, POB 02936, Detroit, MI. 48202, 1980) 133pp \$6.95 photocopied.

This short novel was originally a play by the same author. As a drama, it won the Wayne State University (Detroit) Playwrighting Award of 1976. The novelette's setting is the southern Sahara, 1972. Most of the action involves Tuareg people whose salt caravan is waylaid by European soldiers of fortune. The story moves quickly and involves a love story and the clash of cultures and world views in the late twentieth century.

S. Colman has published a number of short plays and other works. Readers interested may inquire via Dawn Press at the above address. -T.O.

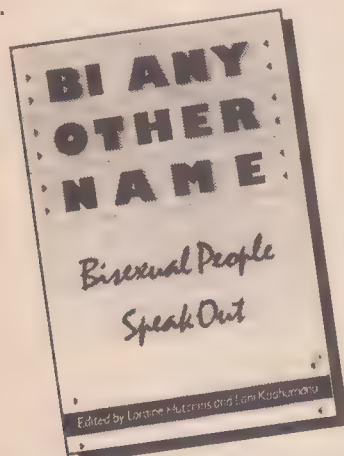
## Tory Front

*The Bigger Tory Vote* by Nick Toczek (AK Press, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, FK8 2RD, Scotland, 1991) 47pp. pamphlet, £2.95/\$5.00 (postpaid from publisher).

The basic thesis of this pamphlet is that the fascist National Front, active in mid-1970s England, is now less visible because it slipped into the influential right-wing of the Tory Party, and that the "bigotry vote" was part of the "bigger Tory vote" which kept Maggie Thatcher in place throughout the 1980s. In the process of



supporting his thesis, Nick Toczek digs up many details about who fascists are in England, how they operate, and their connections with each other and other racist Tories. The pamphlet is packed with information, footnoted, and it names names. For those who need to know it, it seems an inexpensive, accessible source. -T.O.



## Bi Any other Name

*Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out* edited by Loraine Hutchins and Lani Kaahumanu (Alyson Publications, Inc., 40 Plympton St., Boston, MA. 02118, 1991) 379pp. \$11.95 paper.

This book covers the topic of bisexuality in an engrossing, accessible manner. Most of the book consists of short personal stories from a wide variety of bisexuals, and this is juicy, informative reading indeed. There is a dash of good poetry and a few 'heavier' articles as well. All in all, an excellent volume for anyone generally interested in human psychology and sexuality, and for those who wish to understand their own and/or someone else's bisexuality.

Anti-authoritarians may find Lucy Friedland and Liz A. Highleyman's "The fine art of labeling: The convergence of anarchism, feminism, and bisexuality" of special interest. Not to mention Ellen Terris' "My life as lesbian identified bisexual fag hag." There is an abundance of powerful, first-person commentary in this volume.

*Bi Any Other Name* is probably the best book around on bisexuality. If you know of a better one, write to *Anarchy* and let us know! -T.O.

## Plagiarist history

*The History of Plagiarism: Volume 1 (the footnotes)* unattributed (Plagiarist Press, 221 West Benton St., Iowa City, IA. 52246, 1992) 24pp. \$1.50 mini-pamphlet.

For those interested in neoist, mail art, &/or plagiarist schools of cultural detournement, this mini-pamphlet presents a series of 54 short notes (quotes, excerpts, aphorisms, etc.) that illuminate some bits of the recent history of these mini-currents of theory and practice. It helps to be familiar with Stewart Home's (highly uneven) polemical history, *The Assault on Culture: Utopian Currents from Lettrisme to Class War*, as well as with a bit of the actual history

## THE FIRST 6 STEPS OF ANNIE SPRINKLE'S Sex Guidelines for the '90s (A 13-Step Program)

**1. Honor your sexuality and realize its incredible value.** Sex can cure a headache, relieve stress and tension, help digestion, strengthen the heart, relieve menstrual cramps, help you sleep, wake you up, clear the mind, open you up to feelings, improve concentration, create life, burn calories, and cure depression. Research shows that just thinking about sex will strengthen your immune system. Sex can create intimacy with another human being, be an expression of love, bond people together, relieve loneliness, not to mention it can feel really good and be a hell of a lot of fun.

**2. Do not judge yourself or others.** We are *all* at the right place at the right time in our sexual evolutions. Allow others their own paths. Allow yourself your own path. Whenever you find yourself being judgmental, replace the judgment with compassion.

**3. Get rid of any last vestige of sexual guilt and feelings that you don't deserve pleasure.**

**4. Abstinence can be dangerous to your health.** The surgeon general tells us that abstinence is one form of safe sex, but it can also be outright dangerous. Using your own creative sexual energy celibately, for yourself is one thing. You are honoring that energy and working with it for yourself. But abstinence - pushing your sexual feelings down because you think you shouldn't have them - can cause incredible anxiety, frustration, depression, disease, etc. If you like sex then don't give it up. It's too precious.

**5. Accept the fact that you are living in the AIDS era.** Stop complaining that sex isn't the way it used to be and that you hate condoms. Yes, you may need to mourn for the way it was, but then get over it and accept reality. Total acceptance of the AIDS era will release fear and frustration and bring awareness and compassion. Educate yourself on safe sex practices. Use condoms so we can stop the spread of the AIDS virus and other sexually transmitted diseases. Let your sexual energy flow. Realize that AIDS is not caused by your sexuality. There are a million, billion ways to be wonderfully sexual without risking any exposure to AIDS or exposing anyone else. Know that you *can* trust yourself and control yourself to have sex that is not risky.

**6. Redefine your concept of sex.** Find new ways to make love, to be intimate, to enjoy and express our sexual feelings. Let go of old ideas of what sex is "supposed to be like." Open your mind and heart and explore new territory. Be willing to be creative and experimental.

Former porn star Annie Sprinkle is a Manhattan-based performance artist, photographer, and sex educator.

(Excerpted with permission of the author from *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out*, edited by Loraine Hutchins and Lani Kaahumanu; Alyson Publications, 40 Plympton Street, Boston, MA 02118, 617-542-5679.)

and significance of the Situationist International itself, in order to get the most from these 'footnotes'. -J.M.

## Holocaust or bust?

*Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* by Bradley R. Smith (Popular Reality, POB 2942, Ann Arbor, MI. 48106, 1992) 57pp. \$4.95 pamphlet.

Bradley R. Smith has discovered for himself that some of the historical 'evidence' cited for the claims of a Jewish 'holocaust' in Nazi Germany is questionable. Some evidence, like

that for the soap-made-from-Jewish-corpses story we've all at one time heard, even seems to have been manufactured, constituting a hoax on the order of an inverted *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. However, from a few examples of exaggeration (of the numbers of Jews imprisoned and killed), of baseless anti-Nazi propaganda stories, and of Zionist prevarication in the service of Jewish nationalism, Smith jumps to the conclusion that the Jewish holocaust never happened and that the Nazis have been unfairly taken advantage of in the annals of popular history. It's undeniable that "The Holocaust" has been magnified into a larger than life tale of historical racial persecution—



largely in order to justify the continuing atrocities by Zionists in the racist state of Israel. But what purpose is really served by a campaign to completely dismiss the actual suffering of hundreds of thousands of people at the hands of another of the most powerful and ruthless states the world has known? Unfortunately, the sappy writing in *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* is not just sloppy revisionism, it even fails to convincingly 'confess' why the author has made it his 'job' to mount a one-man anti-holocaust crusade on college campuses. Save your five bucks. This is a pamphlet worth missing. -J.M.

## The Blacklist is back!

*International Blacklist* edited by Brian Kane (Left Bank Distribution, 4142 Brooklyn Ave. NE, Seattle, WA. 98105, 1992) 302pp. (+ 53pp. update) \$15.00 paper.

This telephone book sized anti-authoritarian directory is the place to find contacts anywhere in the world. It's impressive & immense, with listings from Aotearoa (New Zealand) to Zimbabwe, including every state in the U.S. The biggest problem remains the prevalence of outdated addresses & phone numbers—an especially problematic (and hard to avoid) area in a constantly moving and changing milieu. Also, you're more liable to find non-anarchist groups in this listing than otherwise, if simply because "anti-authoritarian" is interpreted so broadly as to lose much of its meaning. Still, you won't find a directory of even half this scope or thoroughness anywhere else. This printing is limited to 100 copies, so if you want one you need to act quickly! Though, when this edition sells out, the proceeds are intended to finance a further edition. If you have uses for this type of contact information, you need the *International Blacklist*! -J.M.

## Restoring the Earth

*Living with the Land: Communities Restoring the Earth* edited by Christine Meyer and Faith Moosang (New Society Publishers, 4527 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, PA. 19143, 1992) 131pp. \$10.00 paper.

Whether one lives in the city, or country, the first or the third world, 'development' too often means destruction—of land, of communities, and of cultures. The only kind of development that works for both people and place over time is...invented and implemented at the grassroots. *Living with the Land* is a lively collection of inspiring, first-hand-accounts of communities around the world which are taking charge of their destinies by taking back their lands and waters and using them in ecologically and economically sustainable ways."(back cover)

This book provides 18 "success stories from rural and urban settings in places as diverse as Nigeria, Canada, Ecuador, and the Philippines." (back cover) Christopher Plant writes in the foreword that "given very little help, communities can take care of both themselves and the future of the places they depend upon, if only the cult-of-the-mall can be kept at bay."(p.xiii)

An important qualification regarding malls. Not to mention holding off the banks and development corporations, which tend to have the army, navy, and marines at their disposal. After all, many groups described in this book were quite self-sufficient only yesterday. The Ikalahan of northern Luzon, Philippines, the Ulkatcho and Kluskus of British Columbia, Canada, and the Karen of northern Thailand, to name just three examples from the book, learned long ago a way of life suitable to themselves, without prisons, private property, pesticides, printed money, and high tech. While I find the book informative, I'm uneasy with the emphasis on 'helping' the poor, or even on people 'organizing' themselves, and find too little discussion on how to deal with those people and structures which hold the guns to our heads. I readily concede, however, that the negative task, as I define it, is probably not a topic with which the Bioregional Series (of which this book is part) chooses to grapple. The book does well enough what it has set out to do, but there is much more to be done. For every tree we plant, a village is burned and a forest destroyed. -T.O.

## State of the World

*State of the World 1990* by Lester Brown (Worldwatch Institute, 1776 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC. 20036-1904, 1990) 253pp. \$9.95 paper/\$18.95 hardcover (postpaid from the publisher).

Worldwatch Institute has published an annual series of reports under the title of *State of the World* which provide analyses of "the world's resources and how they are being managed." Using a selection of quantifiable ecological and economic indicators, the series' worldwide scope and the choice of subjects covered make it an invaluable source for monitoring deteriorating conditions throughout the globe. For example, this edition includes an evaluation of the potential effects of—and responses to—"global warming," assessments of world poverty and food production, air pollution and bicycle transportation, as well as an essay on "Picturing a sustainable society." On the other hand, the major problem with this series is its unrelentingly liberal environmentalist approach, which completely forecloses any possibilities for the critique of capitalist economics as a whole. Instead, all problems are analyzed from narrowly technocratic perspectives meant to influence policymakers in hierarchical institutions rather than the grassroots communities struggling to survive in the face of these institutions. The insidious nature of this type of analysis severely limits its value to people resisting the degradation of human societies and the natural environment, by framing every problem in terms which require essentially authoritarian solutions—with the help of moral and economic value changes. The subtext of the series is a persistent assumption that capitalism is unquestionable and that social change is impossible, or at least not worth thinking about. In effect, these books consistently contain arguments for the preservation of hierarchy and capital, by ameliorating the environmental and human social devastation which accompany them. -J.M.

## Psychedelic Monographs

*Psychedelic Monographs and Essays, Vol.5* compiled by Thomas Lyttle (PM&E Publishing Group, POB 4465, Boynton Beach, FL. 33424, 1991) 320pp. \$17.98 paper (add \$1 postage to order from publisher).

At this stage of the "war on drugs" it is hard to remember what the psychedelic scene of the sixties was really like, with its widespread acceptance and encouragement of exploration of altered states of consciousness. However, there are still a few publications which seek to keep the flame of discovery alive. *Psychedelic Monographs and Essays* is one of the more articulate and studious of these voices. The PM&E series brings together a diverse collection of work from scholars, researchers and artists sharing an unapologetic common respect for the powers and potentials of hallucinogens. This fifth volume of PM&E features a series of essays from the unlikely-sounding "Disney's intrapsychic drama *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*: A Grofian interpretation" by Thomas Roberts to Francesco Festi & Antonio Bianchi's fascinating "Amanita muscaria; Mycopharmacological outline and personal experiences" and C.B. Gold's "The mushroom entheogen: The measure of the mushroom." Also in this volume is an especially interesting interview titled "Magic grams: Investigations into psychedelic consciousness with Dr. Oscar Janiger," in which he discusses his "naturalistic studies" of LSD use (in which he gave doses "to 875 people, many from the creative communities of Beverly Hills and Hollywood") back before the LSD prohibition began. This is absorbing reading for those awaiting or encouraging the rebirth of an exploratory, psychedelic-appreciative culture.

Note: For those with an exceptional interest in this subject the publishers of PM&E also maintain a modestly-priced ethnopharmacology document library which currently includes 10,000 citations. Send a 52¢ SASE for a copy of their PHD Library Database. -J.M.

## Ironwood

*Ironwood* by Jim Munroe (Self-published by Jim Munroe, 66 Greyhound Drive, Willowdale, Ontario, M2H 1K3, Canada, 1991) 66pp. paper, no price listed.

This adventure story explores the interaction between relatively anarchic, organically-oriented cultures and high tech, hierarchic ones. The setting is post-nuclear holocaust, Earth. Some people have survived and are rediscovering the ancient earth-lore, while certain others are attempting to resurrect the organization and devices which previously precipitated social and ecological catastrophe. *Ironwood* moves quickly and may stir the imagination regarding what the problems are, and what solutions. -T.O.

## Other titles received

*La Tyrannie des Mots: une lecture de Max Stirner* (Comidad c/o Vincenzo Italiano, C.P. 391, 80100 Napoli, Italy, 1991) 21pp. 15ff pamphlet.



# Anarchist press review

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

Why not support anarchist alternative media by ordering a few (or a dozen) of the titles listed here that most appeal to you? Why not step out of your perceptual ruts by exploring new perspectives? -Jason

**AGAINST SLEEP AND NIGHTMARE** #4/undated (POB 3305, Oakland, CA. 94609) is an enjoyable situationist-influenced Marxist zine. This issue includes pieces like "The world order: Rule by chaos," "Return to the land of the lost" (on suburbia), "Peace is a drug for slaves" (on the Gulf War), and "The free market of lies" (on the recent changes in Eastern Europe). Recommended. Subscriptions are \$6.00/4 issues. (Any checks must be made payable to "cash.")



Graphic from *The Match!*

**THE MATCH!** #87/Summer '92 (POB 3488, Tucson, AZ. 85722) is an 80-page journal published by Fred Woodworth. This issue, along with the usual reviews, commentary and cop denunciations, includes interesting episodes from the serializations of Paul Roasberry's "Teaching pigs to whistle," Kent Winslow's "Landmarks in the desert," and Iris Lane's "The two sisters." Still recommended, despite Woodworth's ongoing campaign of put-downs aimed at *Anarchy* magazine—see the graphic above. Subscriptions are still \$10/4 issues (irregular).

## ALSO RECEIVED:

**Profane Existence** #14/May-June & #15/Summer '92 (POB 8722, Mpls, MN. 55408) is an energetic 24-page anarcho-punkzine with the subtitle "Making Punk a Threat Again." Issue #14 includes an interview with a Desert Storm resister titled "First woman war resister spits on Sam," "Chapter 11" of "Professor Felix's brief history of anarchism: Anarchism in Spain," and an interview with the editors of the queer zines *Bundle of Sticks & Oubliette*. Issue #15 includes an interview with Spitboy, and lots of news from L.A., Berlin, & Amsterdam. Single copies are now \$2 postpaid; subscriptions are \$9/6 issues.

**No Longer Silent** #4-5/undated (Black Web, POB 3582, Tucson, AZ. 85722) is a nicely-done small-format, 64-page zine which has returned after

a long absence. This issue includes an editorial rant against intergenerational sex (and even against the discussion of the subject in the anarchist press), a reprint of the anonymous "Regaining control of health care: Herbal abortion" (which appeared in *Anarchy* #31 under a similar title), "A case against anarchist separatism" by Desperate Chris, and "Women & the sex industry: Two perspectives." Send \$3 for a sample copy.

**The Shadow** #24/June, #25 July-Aug. & #26/Sept.'92 (POB 20298, New York, NY. 10009) is a lively 16-page tabloid covering alternative scenes on the Lower East Side in New York. Issue #24 includes "The real story behind the bombing of Pan Am flight 103." Issue #25 has a cover headline "Welcome Demo-rats," and includes some good background coverage of the Democratic Party convention in New York. Issue #26 includes Bill Weinberg's analysis of "Politics as usual in the death of democracy," and Martina Ortiz on "The New Alliance Party, H. Ross Perot, and grassroots revolt." Subscriptions are \$10/year (? issues).

**Wind Chill Factor** #7/July '92 (POB 81961, Chicago, IL. 60681) is a fat and fun-filled, "freeform journal of ideas, action, news, creativity and more." Issue #7 includes "Notes on the L.A. revolt," a column of demo & riot tips by Puck, and "Riot kops, klansmen, and anarchists, oh my!" Subscriptions are \$8 cash/5 issues.

**Fatuous Times** #2/undated (POB 406, Stoke-on-Trent, ST1 4RN, England) is an amusing 28-page zine, including an edited reprint of a story retitled "Confessions of a fatuous stickerist" (from *Anarchy* #32), an interesting urban critique titled "The city becomes a theme park," a report on the recent Anticopyright Networkers Conference, and a rant on "Priesthating—an agenda for the nineties." Copies are available for £2 postpaid.

**Green Perspectives** #27/Aug.'92 (POB 111, Burlington, VT. 05402) is an interesting, 10-page "Social Ecology Publication" which often reports on controversial issues in the ecology movement. This issue includes "Eco-fascism: Neither left nor 'up front' but far right" by the editors, and "Should we work in coalition with 'right-to-lifers' and racists?" by the Cologne Anti-EC Group. Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

**Kick It Over** #29/Summer '92 (POB 5811, Station A, Toronto, Canada M5W 1P2) is a 48-page quarterly zine. This issue includes Gary Moffat's "Building economic alternatives," "The abortion

underground" by Lisa Loving, part 2 of Murray Bookchin's "The population myth," and David Koven's tribute to the memory of Domenic Sallitto titled "An anarchist life." Subscriptions are \$9.00/4 issues.

**Blackbelt Technofix** #2/undated (Jason Read, POB 763, Hampshire C., Amherst, MA. 91002) is an intelligent & readable 40-page zine subtitled "the aesthetics of consumption." This issue includes a discourse titled "Good cop, bad cop," and a "Manifesto of play." No subscriptions; send two 29¢ stamps for a copy of this issue only.



**Live Wild Or Die!** #3/undated (POB 13765, Portland, OR. 97213) is a 44-page tabloid providing an alternative, uncensored forum for radical environmental ideas and actions. It includes a potpourri of short articles, reprints of posters and graphics, letters, poetry, monkeywrenching suggestions, etc. This issue features Stayfree Kare Bear's "Wholly wackiness! It's the...Wild Wimin Warrior's Rendezvous!" and "An open letter to our lovers: a duet" by Tracy & Rufus. Send a couple bucks contribution for a copy.

**Shit Happy** #2/undated (Adam Bregman, 11338 Joffre St., L.A., CA. 90049) is a lively, thoughtful & fun 30-page zine with articles like "Masturbation is liberation," "Fun things to do to destroy all government..." and "Destroying the workplace." Check this out. Send \$1.50 for a copy.

**Not Bored** #21/July '92 (POB 3421 Wayland Square, Providence, RI. 02906) is a 54-page, photocopied situationist-influenced zine. This issue includes "What's happening" columns for Providence and the San Francisco Bay

Area, along with the text of a presentation titled "The forty-one curses, crises and conspiracies of everyday life" which the publisher gave at a philosophy conference. No price listed; I'd send a couple bucks for a copy.

**Media Blitz** #2/undated (POB 20420, London Terrace Station, New York, NY. 10011) is an articulate and readable 32-page zine. This issue includes "Fuck school," an interview with ArtFux, a reprint of "The decline and fall of the spectacle-commodity society," and a piece on the "Commodification of the L.A. riots." Send \$2 for a sample copy.

**Libertarian Labor Review** #13/Summer '92 (Box 2824, Champaign, IL. 61825) is a 48-page magazine of "Anarchosyndicalist Ideas and Discussion." This issue includes a piece titled "Soviet workers demand self-management," Jeff Stein's "Anarchist economics, part III: The collectivist transition," and Jon Bekken's interesting "Bakunin and the historians." Subscriptions are now \$12.00/2 years (4 issues).

**Love and Rage/Amor y Rabia** Vol.3, #4/April-May & #5/June '92 (Box 3, Prince St. Station, New York, NY. 10012) is an 8 to 16-page leftist, "revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly" published in English & Spanish. Issue #4 features a critique of the English Class War Federation by Kate Star titled "Our time has come...and gone." Issue #5 features "500 queers of resistance" by Lin Elliot, and a fairly good collectively-written piece on "Los Angeles: The fire this time." Subscriptions are now \$9.00/year (10 issues?).

**Slingshot** #45/Spring & #46/Summer (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA. 94720) is an improving, energetic 8 to 16-page anti-imperialist, anti-war, anti-authoritarian student paper for the University California at Berkeley community. Issue #45 includes a first-hand account titled "Inside the Peruvian popular movement," along with a number of reprints from the anarchist press. Issue #46 is a "Rebellion Issue" including good pieces like Kamal Hassan's "LAPD: A case study in racist violence," Paul Dalton's "Liberal whining: 'Hey, that's not in the constitution...'," Bruce Kala's "Some reflections on the rebellion," and a reprint of Dave Dellinger's "The black rebellions" (written in the 1960s). Send \$1 for a sample copy.

**The Thought** Vol.12, #4/April-July & #5/August '92 (POB 3092, Orange, CA. 92665) is an improving 22-page, photocopied publication of the Philosophers Guild. Issue #4 includes a good piece on "Snitches" by Kenn Wood. Issue #5 includes a good reply from Bob Black in response to Allen Thornton's earlier pseudo-libertarian defense of the American displacement by European invaders, Marc Ely-Chaillin's "Gifting and the circle of life," and a reprint of the B.A.D. Brigade's broadside on "Anarchism and civility." Subscriptions are \$11/12 issues.

**Bayou La Rose** #38/undated (POB 5464, Tacoma, WA. 98415-0464) is a 36-page "international Resource Issue"



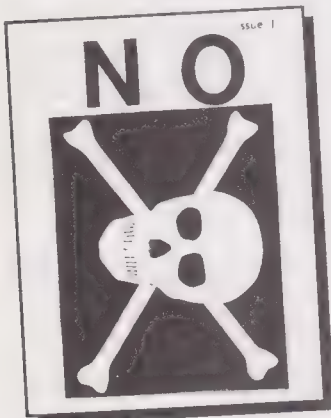
# Anarchist Media Review

of this tabloid, including extensive listings of anarchist, Native American and prisoner contact and resource addresses.. Single copies are \$2.50; subscriptions remain \$7.50/4 issues.

## OTHER PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

**Unconventional Action** #1/May & #2/June '92 (228 East 10th St. Box #24, NYC, NY. 10003) is a 4-page newsletter organizing resistance activities for the Democratic Party convention (which will already have taken place by the time this is printed). "Take to the streets, not to the voting booth!"

**The Hyperborean** Vol.2, #4/May & #5/July E.M.392 (Richard Gaska, 2024 N. Manor Dr., Erie, PA. 16505) is a 34-page photocopied zine "Dedicated to Freethought and Anarchism." Issue #4 includes reprints of J.G. Eccarius' review of the *Amnesty International Report 1991* (from *Anarchy* #32), a 1930 speech on "Altheism" by Joseph Lewis, and a number of 1955 editorials concerning the refusal of the Providence, R.I. mayor to cooperate with the erection of a statue of Thomas Paine. Subscriptions are \$11/year (6 issues).



**No** #1, #2 & #3/undated (POB 175, Liverpool, L69 8DX, U.K.) is the 16 to 18-page successor to *Anti Clock Wise*, billed as "A Project of the Museum of Modern Alienation." The first issue contains a couple pieces touching on alienated sexuality titled "Clothes and the erotic," and "New York is an awe.../To live with it anyway." Issue #2 includes "On no, there is no god." Issue #3 includes Elliot Cantsin's haunting story "Return to Maggotville." No price listed; send at least \$1 or \$2 for a sample copy.

**Anarchist Age Monthly Review** #17/May & #18/June '92 (Mutual Aid, POB 20, Parkville 3052, Melbourne, Australia) is a 36 to 40-page newsletter (mostly consisting of photocopied reprints from other sources) meant to keep *Anarchist Age* magazine readers up to date on international anarchist activities and news. Issue #17 includes an excerpt reprinted from the Australian anarchist-feminist zine *Turning Up The Heat*. Issue #18 includes a reprint of Bob Black's "The abolition of work." Subscriptions are \$24/12 issues.

**Anarchy In Paradise** Vol.3, #1/Mar. & #2/June '92 (A.M.P. Ltd., 2233 Kala-kaua Ave., B205A #1261, Honolulu, HI 96815) is a 4-page tabloid, featuring "Practical reasons why government doesn't work" in issue #3, and B.A.D. Brigade's broadside "Anarchism and civility" in issue #4. Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

**Lesbian & Gay Freedom Movement** #6/Summer '92 (BM Box 207, London, WC1N 3XX, England) is a 16-page zine campaigning for sexual liberation. This issue includes the demand to "End prosecution for mutual sex!" Examples of bizarre, recent British imprisonments for consenting S&M, animal-human sex (involving cases with dogs & a dolphin) and lesbian sex are detailed and condemned. Single copies are 50p (cash only) postpaid.

**Practical Anarchy** #4/Spring '92 (Chuck Munson, 16 N. Butler St. #2, Madison, WI. 53703) is a pleasant 14-page zine, this time with a short essay titled "Questioning technology." Send an SASE for a sample copy; subscriptions are \$4/4 issues.

**No Sanctuary** #6/June '92 (c/o Resistance Prod., B.P. 426, 8026 Zürich, Switzerland) is a small-format, 20-page anarcho-punk-zine featuring music & zine reviews, mostly in tiny, tiny type. Send \$2 for a sample copy.

**56a Info Shop Bulletin** #3/May '92 (56 Crampton St., London SE17, U.K.) is a 22-page info-zine carrying "News of Resistance from Around the World," compiled "from radical journals and leaflets." Send a donation for a sample.

**Big Brother Press** #3/undated (Jason Pipes, 211 East Jefferson St. #14, Elkhorn, WI. 53121) is a 50-page photocopied zine emphasizing graphics, poetry, 'ravings' and music coverage. This issue includes a band interview with Consolidated, and "Excerpts from Ramsey Clark's Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal." Send \$1.25 in cash or stamps for a sample copy.

**Action & Defiance** unnumbered/Spring-Summer '92 (POB 581, Mtn. Ranch, CA. 95246) is now an 8-page photocopied publication of the International Music Workers Union. Send a contribution for a copy.

**The Libertarian Mutualist** #5/June '92 (POB 40391, St. Petersburg, FL. 33710) is a 4-page right-wing 'libertarian' newsletter. This issue includes a poorly argued "@ case against national health care," along with a militant article titled "Peace in L.A. my ass!" Send a 'contribution' for a subscription (10 issues/yr.).

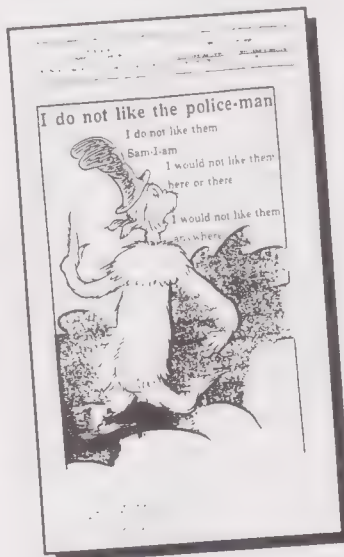
**Rad Times** #0/July '92 (POB 194284, S.F., CA. 94119-4284) is an 8-page zine "intended for tight circulation among my friends & fellow travellers for entertainment purposes only." Send an SASE for a sample.

**Imminent Strike** #57/undated (504 W. 24th #81, Austin, TX. 78705) is "the final issue" of this lively 18-page newsletter, including information on the

planned "festival of defiance" at the upcoming Republican Convention in Houston, and reprints of "Making it underground," and Hakim Bey's "Poetic terrorism." Send an SASE for a copy.

**K.S.L. #1 & #2/undated** (c/o BM Hurricane, London, WC1 3XX, England) is the 4 to 8-page bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library, an archive of anarchist publications loosely associated with the journal *Black Flag*. Issue #1 includes an interesting piece titled "Was Tolstoy an anarchist?" Subscriptions are £5/5 issues.

**Brick** #8/undated (POB 1153, Russellville, AL. 35653) is an 16-page news bulletin "that seeks to include all aspects of concern to anarchists." Sample copies are now \$1.50.



**R.S.V.P.** #4/June & #5/July '92 (Brick Pillow, 1800 Market #249, S.F., CA. 94102) was a very readable 46 to 64-page bimonthly apa (amateur press association zine) published "for the joy of conversation with my mail-order friends, about things that matter to me: Anarchy, black markets, ecology, freedom, government...." Unfortunately, #5 was the final issue, although there may be a small chance you can get a sample copy for \$2.

**Workers Solidarity** #1/May-June '92 (POB 40440, San Francisco, CA. 94140) 8pp. newsletter of the Worker's Solidarity Alliance. Subscriptions \$7.50/6 issues (plus one issue of *Ides & Action*).

**A Infos** #22/April & #23/Mai '92 (Humeurs Noires [F.A.], BP 79, 59370 Mons en Baroeul, France) is the 6-page French edition (in the English language) of the *A-Infos* international "Bulletins d'information" meant for spreading news for publication in anarchist periodicals. Send a contribution for a sample.

**Green Anarchist** #30/Summer '92 (Box H, 34 Cowley Rd., Oxford OX4 1HZ, U.K.) is a 24-page magazine dedicated to creating a society of "Autono-

mous, self-sufficient villages, bringing regression of technology." Issue #30 includes a section titled "Personal is Political." Subscriptions are £4.75/5 issues.

**Madworld Survival Guide** #7/Summer '92 (POB 791377, New Orleans, LA. 70179-1377) is a breezy 32-page direct-action zine of short articles. Send \$1 cash + 52¢ postage for a sample; subscriptions are \$5/4 issues.

**Steal The Fire** #1 & #2/undated (Acts of Resistance, 537 Jones #1584, San Francisco, CA. 94102) is a new 8-page newsletter subtitled "A Journal of Absolute Rage." Send a contribution for a sample.

**No Nation Bulletin** #12/undated '92 (People to People Friendship Ass., c/o Sören Groth, Industrigatan 9, 15 300 Järna, Sweden) is a photocopied 16-page exchange of short letters and announcements from people living on different continents. Subscriptions are U.S.\$5/year (4 issues).

**Brazen** #3 & #4/undated (3029 New York Ave., Chattanooga, TN. 37406) is a 12 to 16-page cut-n-paste zine. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

**Counter Information** #34/July-Sept. '92 (Pigeonhole Cl, c/o 11 Forth St., Edinburgh EH1, Scotland) is a 4-page newsheet. This issue includes news on "Confronting Columbus" in Europe. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**News From Poland** #B/1992 (FA, c/o An Arché, Uniwersytet Śląski, Bankowa 12, 40-007 Katowice, Poland) is the second issue of this interesting 8-page, English-language "World Bulletin of Federacja Anarchistyczna," containing the latest news on struggles involving the Polish anarchist movement, along with an extensive list of Polish anarchist contact addresses. Send a contribution for a copy.

**FreeZine** Vol.4, #2/Spring '92 (POB 1465, Troy, NY. 12180) is a nicely-produced 16-page magazine, subtitled "social alternatives for everyone."

This issue includes David Wiecek's interesting essay titled "Wars—Many too many." The publication is free, but send a contribution for postage.

**Unimpressed** unnumbered/1992 [2 issues, same date] (135a Meersbrook Park Road, Heeley, Sheffield, S8 9FP, England) is a notable new 12 to 14-page zine featuring reprints and short articles attempting "to break down the dominance of commodity culture, work and the state's own psychogeographical boundaries." Cover price is 50p.

**Impulse** #8/Spring '92 (Jon George, Rt.1, Redwing, MN. 55066) is an unpaginated "Wisconsin Anarchist Journal" published in Minnesota! This issue includes "Theoretical foundation of justice in an anarchist society: Not for the bleeding hearts," along with anarchist youth news & comment, and *Goof Liberation Front* #4. Sample copies are "\$1 or \$2 + stamp."



## NON-ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

**CNT** #138/Junio, #139/Julio & #140/Agosto '92 (CNT-Periódico, Apartado, n.º 282, 48080 Bilbao, Spain) is the 24-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the anarcho-sindicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Workers union). Issue #138 features the first part of an essay on "La tortura en España, 1990-1992," which is concluded in #139. Issue #140 includes a central section under the title "Visión Libertaria de Latinoamérica." Subscriptions are 2,500ptas./year (12 issues).

**La Letra A** Vol.2, #3/1991 (C.C.31, Suc:27, C.P. 1427, Capital Federal, Argentina) is an 86-page, Spanish-language cultural-political journal featuring a section on "Cyberpunk," Néstor Perlongher's "Poesía y extasis," and many other essays. Cover price is \$35.000.

**Umanita** Nova Vol.72, #13/Apr. 19, thru #22/Guigno 28, '92 (c/o G.C.A. Pinelli, via Roma 48, 87019 Spezzano Albanese (CS), Italy) is the 8-page, Italian-language weekly newspaper of the Federazione Anarchica Italiana. Subscriptions are US \$55.00/year.

**ANA** unnumbered/Fev.-Abril '92 (Moésio Rebouças, Caixa Postal 78, 11510-970 Cubatão-SP, Brasil) is a 6-page, Portuguese-language "Boletim informativo da Agência de Notícias Anarquistas." Send a contribution for a copy.

**1º de Maio** unnumbered/undated (Grupo Libertário Pensamento e Ação, C.P. 3.395, CEP 82.000, Brasil) is a 4-page, Portuguese-language tabloid including short pieces on "O que é Autogestão," and "Sindicalismo revolucionário." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Disturb@nce** #7/undated (POB 31261, 10035 Athens, Greece) is an 8-page, Greek-language tabloid, with more news of current struggles in Greece. Cover price is 150 drachmas.

**Le Libertaire; Revue de Synthese Anarchiste** #127/Juin & #128/Juillet-Aout '92 (25 rue Dumé d'Aplemont, 76600 Le Havre, France) is a 4-page, monthly, French-language "review of synthetic anarchism" published by the Union des anarchistes. International subscriptions are 80F/year (10 issues).

**Telegraph** Vol.3, #5/Mai, #6/Juni & #7/Juli '92 (Schliemannstr. 22, Berlin O-1058, Germany) is a 52-page German-language publication from East Berlin covering the current situation in Germany. Subscriptions are 34DM/year.

**Libera Volo** #39/Junio '92 (A.R.P., PO Box 57, Sakyo Yubinkyoku, J-606 Kyoto, Japan) is the 6-page Japanese-language newsletter (with Esperanto headlines) of the Federacio Anarkista of Japan, soon to have an English-language summary included with each issue. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Mordicus** #8/Juin '92 (BP 11, 75622 Paris Cedex 13, France) is an interesting 16-page, French-language tabloid. Issue #8 features "La planète des exclus," and "Lettre à un pédophile," among many other pieces. The cover price of this issue is 15F; Subscriptions are 100F/year (? issues).

**El Libertario** #23/Abril-Mayo '92 (Brasil 1551, 1154 Buenos Aires, Argentina) is the 4-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the Federación Libertaria Argentina. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Brand** #50/April & 351/Maj '92 (Box 150 15, S-104 65 Stockholm, Sweden) is an always-lively, 16 to 48-page Swedish-language magazine, with the best photography of the anarchist press. Cover price is 10 to 20KR.

**Második Látás** #9/Aprilis '92 (c/o Rácz Mihály, XIII. u. 35, Budapest 1172, Hungary) is a 96-page Hungarian-language anarcho-punk zine, self-described as an "individualist, direct action zine." Sample copies are available for \$1 postpaid.

**Cultura Libertaria** #21 Junio '92 (Fundacion Isaac Puente, Apartado de correos 1687, Vitoria 01080, Spain) is the 24-page, Spanish-language bulletin of the Isaac Puente center for libertarian documentation. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Ekintza Zuzena: Revista Libertaria** #10/Primavera-Vera '92 (Ediciones EZ Argitaraldiak, Apdo. 235, Postakutxa, 48080 Bilbo, Bizkaia, Spain) is a slick, 56-page Spanish-language "libertarian review" from the Basque country. This issue includes "Lucha armada y terrorismo: Un analisis critico," along with lots of international news. Subscriptions are 800 ptas/year (4 issues).

**Exegersi (Riot)** #8/undated (Anarchist Coil, POB 30658, Athens 10033, Greece) is a 12-page, Greek-language newspaper including "articles about the situation in Greece, from the anarchist view." Cover price is 200 Drachmas.

**Solidaridad Obrera** #227/Abril, #228/Mayo, #229/Junio & #230/Julio-Agosto '92 (Ronda de San Antonio, 13 pral 08001-Barcelona, Spain) is the 12 to 16-page, Spanish-language regional newspaper of the anarcho-sindicalist C.N.T. in Catalonia. Issue #229 features a collage by Freddie Baer on its cover (from the *Anarchy* #29 cover). Sample copies are 75ptas plus 20ptas postage.

**Rojo y Negro** #32/Marzo, #33/Abril, #34/Mayo, #35/Junio & #36/Julio-Agosto '92 (Sagunto 15, pal., 28010 Madrid, Spain) is the 16-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the reformist anarcho-sindicalist C.G.T. (Confederación General del Trabajo—a split from the more traditionally anarcho-sindicalist C.N.T. in Spain). Subscriptions are 1,000ptas/year (12 issues).

**Liberecana Ligilo** #76/Jarmez '92 (Esperanto, Cargue Sac, F-47470 Beauville, France) is the 32-page bulletin of the libertarian/anarchist faction of the

## People still working

Top scientists find such gullibility remarkable

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY. Top scientists have just published the results of a remarkable study that shows that people everywhere are still putting up with the conditions of work. Despite boredom, humiliation, and alienation a majority of the world's people work, and those who do not often say that they would like to be working. Top research scientist Cletis L. Corcaran offered this comment on the results: "We thought that maybe with the decline of the protestant work ethic and other spiritual motivations for working, that maybe work in general would seem less appealing, but consumption and the need to consume a whole range of commodities has proved to be a fairly good replacement for both spiritual motivation and economic necessity." When asked if people would go on tolerating work, Corcaran replied, "With the proper illusory incentives there seems to be no limit to the shit people will put up with."

Reprinted from *Blackbelt Technofix* #2 (Amherst, MA.).

Esperanto-language workers' organization S.A.T., headquartered in Paris. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Liberation of the Individual** #1/HOЯBПb '91 (Russia 109462 Moscow, Volzhsky boulevard 21-62, Mikhail Tsosma) is a 36-page Russian-language journal affiliated with the Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists/Alexei Borovoi Group. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Le Poçnt D'Interrogations** unnumbered/Printemps-Été '92 (Hème c/o I.S., B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France [don't mention the publication name in the address]) is the 20-page, French-language successor to *Interrogations pour la Communauté Humaine*, published by two former editors of that journal. This issue includes "Chemin brunes et pantalonnades" by Hème. No price listed; send a contribution.

**Schwarzer Faden** #42/Feb.'92 (Postfach 1159, 7043 Grafenau-1, Germany) is a well-produced 72-page, German-language magazine, subtitled "Vierteljahresschrift Für Lust und Freiheit." Subscriptions are 50.-DM/8 issues.

**Perspectief** #27/April-Juni '92 (Libertaire Studiegroep, Dracenastraat 21, 9000 Gent, Belgium) is a 52-page Dutch-language journal of libertarian perspectives. This issue includes Roger Jacobs' "Diepte-ecologie: Een revolutie in het groene denken?" Single copies are 80Fr. plus postage.

**Stiu Tsilia** unnumbered/ΕΑΕΒΑΡΗΣ & ΕΝΑΡΗΣ '92 (POB 50042, T.K. 54013, Thessaloniki, Greece) is a 4-page Greek-language information bulletin. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Utopia** #4/Verão-Outono '91 & #5/Junio '92 (Caixa Postal 14576, 22412-070 Rio de Janeiro -RJ, Brasil) is

a nicely-produced 32 to 36-page, Portuguese-language magazine. Issue #4 features an article on "Amazônia: Mitos e realidades," and Murray Bookchin's "Por uma ecologia social." With issue #5 the magazine has been renamed *EcoUtopia: Dossier de Ecologia Social*, and includes pieces like Victor Fuks' "Ecologia alternativa: Aprendendo com os índios Tupi Guarani." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Ovelha Negra** #2/Mar.-Abr.'92 (Caixa Postal 1206, CEP 66000 Belém-Pará, Brasil) is the 4-page newsletter of the Ovelha Negra Collective and the Núcleo PRO COB-AIT. Send a contribution for a copy.

**Angels Mutiny** #3/ΙΟΥΝΗΣ '92 (POB 30557, 10033 Athens, Greece) is a new 12-page newspaper published by some members of a group which formerly published an information bulletin titled *Anarchikos* in collaboration with the Anarchist Black Cross Athens. Cover price is 150 drachmas.

**Guámgara Libertaria** #50/Primavera '92 (ISHSS, POB 1516, Riverside Station, Miami, FL 33135) is a 32-page Spanish-language journal produced by Cuban anarchist exiles & subtitled "A la Libertad Por la Libertad." Send a donation for a sample copy.

**Libre Pensamiento** 310/May '92 (Sagunto 15, pal., 28010 Madrid, Spain) is the 48-page Spanish-language theoretical magazine of the Spanish reformist-sindicalist CGT. Subscriptions are 1,400ptas./4 issues.

**De Nar** #69/Juni '92 (V.Z.W. De Nar, Postbus 104, B-1210, Brussels 21, Belgium) is the "only Dutch[language] monthly anti-authoritarian newspaper," whose name translates as "The Fool." This issue also includes a large English-language "Mail art" contact column. Send a contribution for a sample copy.



# Riot L.A.

By Adam Bregman

I came home from band practice for the Jewish punk thing I've been working on called Gefilte Fuck to find out that all four officers accused of beating the shit out of Rodney King were given the verdict of not-guilty by an all-white jury of the pigs' peers. I was steaming pissed. Once again authority was declared free of any guilt from the ruthless violence they uphold as the norm. Mayor Bradley, Chief Darryl Gates, Councilmen Mark Ridley-Thomas and Mike Woo immediately came on television asking for a calm response to the verdict. But that just wasn't going to be. Local anchorman Chris Conangla and others went so far as to say that the jury has made their decision and that's the way the system works. I felt that he was implying that the beating that the whole world saw with it's own eyes was somehow invalidated by the ruling of these 12 Valley resident jurists and that we should all just accept it.

I can just tell you how completely incensed I was. I was trying to figure out where people were going to be taking to the streets. I saw on TV in South Central where random motorists were dragged out of their vehicles and beaten up by mobs. The scene was just as shocking and infuriating as the Rodney King videotape. Roving, randomly violent gangs attacking anyone because of their race is what the LAPD does daily in L.A. But the news mentioned a cop helicopter being shot at and I saw that it wasn't all random violence. Some of the people interviewed at Parker Center downtown were quite eloquent in their outrage at the condescending, ignorant nature of the politicians who asked for 'calmness' and for people "to let the system work" in response to the verdict.

I went down to West Hollywood where a small demonstration was just beginning and people were posterizing the meeting place on stores and telephone poles. I decided to go down to Parker Center, the police headquarters downtown. I arrived at about 7:30 and there were about 300 people slowly pushed back by

a police line. I saw people there I'd never expect to see at a protest. People started burning flags and throwing them at the police. Then eggs were thrown at the police. There were tons of media and the police were not going to rush the crowd. Then a parking attendant's booth was turned over and set alight as people really started to get riled up. The crowd realized they were not going to be able to storm Parker Center so someone said "let's go downtown" and everyone did. At first the targets were all the fucked up institutions I hate. City Hall East had its windows smashed and a fire set, the *L.A. Times*, conveniently located next to a big gravel pit filled with nice sized rocks, had all its windows taken out and all the banks were smashed. It was beautiful and I was jumping up and down with excitement. There were people of all shapes, sizes and colors, a good sized group of punks and anarchists, old, liberal, burned out commie types, boofy looking girls and a large group of gang members. The Crips and Bloods had tied their rags together and joined forces for the L.A. Riots. After awhile people were indiscriminately turning over cars. They could have been protestors cars for all they knew. So I went and moved my car way into Little Tokyo and walked back past people coming out of sushi bars completely unaware that a few blocks down the street the city was exploding.

I came back and bumped into a completely new crowd of rioters, people I knew from as far away as Orange County. Everyone else who had been there disappeared somewhere into the city and I didn't see them again. At one point way off in a dark corner I saw five guys beating on someone. Someone yelled it was the police and I ran down there. It was five undercover cops who looked like anyone in the crowd. About 200 people followed me as they beat and dragged the guy into a nearby up-scale hotel and flashed their badges. It looked just like the Rodney King beating except there were no video cameras. All the windows of the hotel and the Mercedes in front were smashed. The line of pigs that had spread out past Parker Center surrounded the hotel as people hurled rocks and signs at them. I went and climbed up a few blocks and bumped into another huge crowd of 800 people rolling over a police car and setting it on fire. It was the most beautiful

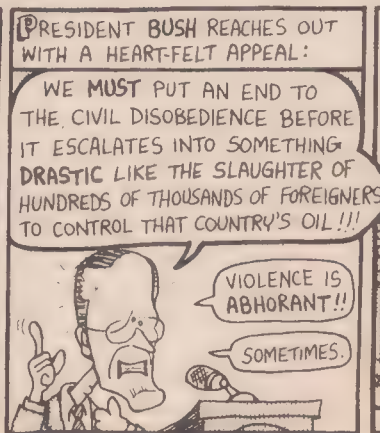
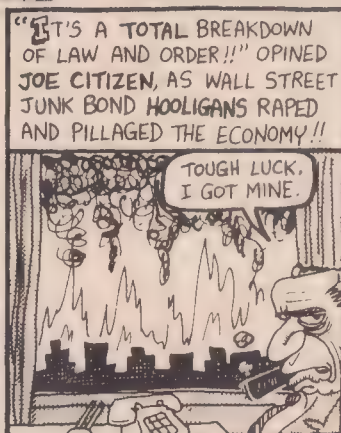
and dramatic sight of the evening. 90% of the crowd was totally into taking out their outrage directly against the police and the property of the rich. 70 year old grandmas were yelling "Burn Baby Burn." People repeatedly chanted as well as graffitied "No Justice No Peace," "We Want Gates," and the anthemic and ever popular "Fuck the Police!"

There was some argument over which way to go. Some of the punks wanted to go to the Ronald Reagan Building, but most people wanted to go "shopping on Broadway" despite the large number of small businesses up there. They looted almost every shop on Broadway from 1st down to 9th St. and beyond. We took out the windows of a McDonald's. Some of the looting however was completely indiscriminate. Stereo, jewelry, furniture, clothing stores were all cleared out as people became increasingly greedy piling stuff into their cars and vans. They looted a knife store and I found myself surrounded by 100 gang members all wielding swords and machetes. Some were pulling their swords on each other fighting over watches. The revolutionary element mostly disappeared and greed replaced it. But it was greed that I somewhat understood, because a lot of these people were really poor. Myself and Rob, Camille and Steppenwolf from Food Not Bombs! Long Beach walked down Broadway which was totally trashed. They tried to figure out how to put out a fire next to some low-income housing to no avail. Typewriters and TVs littered the streets. The homeless still lay amongst their bags and cardboard boxes that were their homes not having stolen anything, because they had no place to put it. Someone had attempted to break into my car and busted the trunk lock. The 5th fuckin' time.

Despite the many horrifying images on television, the L.A. Riots were in general the poor expressing their outrage at the police and most of a city that doesn't give a shit about them. It was a ghetto uprising that spread everywhere. I am totally in support of the poor looting shopping malls and chainstores. Of course, the images of people crying as their tiny, family-owned businesses were looted and burned were horrible. The poor stealing from the poor and Blacks indiscriminately destroying their own communities is exactly what the racist

Continued on page 24...

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# Slagging off the LGN

## THE FAR-WEST LEFT GREEN NETWORK CONFERENCE

By Max London

**T**he Far-West Left Green Network regional gathering took place on the 28th, 29th of February and the 1st of March at the University of California-Santa Barbara. A carload of us went down from the Bay Area to check it out. This was the first LGN conference to take place on the west coast, the LGN being predominantly east coast based, and none of our group knew exactly what to expect. My prior knowledge was that LGN was vaguely democratic new-leftists, that the author Murray Bookchin is a kind of guru to this movement, and that the LGN has some links with the Love and Rage Network.

I had hoped that this conference would provide a forum for debate, to learn a bit about the theory of social ecology and a chance to meet and talk with a variety of anti-authoritarians. These hopes were dashed. The LGN conference had been organized by a small group of UCSB students whose intent seemingly was to provide a space where the east-coast leaders of the LGN could lecture us about the party line. That line is "confederal municipalism" or in simpler English "vote green!"

The conference took place in a lecture theater in the physics building on campus. From the start this created a hierarchical atmosphere. The chosen speakers, all prearranged, would speak for twenty minutes or more from the front while the audience/acolytes/party faithful sat in silence taking notes. In this venue there was little chance of democratic debate. Even the seating is fixed so we couldn't sit in a circle. The conference venue essentially re-created a student/lecturer dynamic which made all the tokens to democracy all the more irritating. One such token was the facilitator's insistence from the start that during the question and answer session, after each question the gender of the next person asking questions must be alternate, e.g. male-female-male-female....

We arrived in Santa Barbara on Friday afternoon and it was at this point that my only conversation with the organizers took place. Essentially, "Have you registered?" "No." "That's ten dollars!" A sad and unfriendly welcome to a supposedly anarchistic gathering. But it did sum up in retrospect the entire weekend. The first lecture was titled "Radical Culture" and had clearly been put in the timetable as a space-filler on Friday night before most people arrived. Thirty of us sat and were lectured to firstly on the morality of pacifism and alternative cultures. Secondly by an artist who claimed that because working-class people were alienated from art and thought of it as a middle or ruling-class activity then radical artists had to 'trick' ordinary people into going into their galleries. I felt immensely depressed by all this and wandered out long before the end wondering "Why did I come to this?"

We stayed the night in a community hall 10 miles away in downtown Santa Barbara. This venue was pretty good and would have been far better as a site for the daytime sessions as

well. The only advantage of the UCSB site was that you could go the beach every time you got bored of the lectures. To add to my dispiritedness my car was broken into on the Friday night while parked outside the community center. Someone broke into the car and stole the front windshield! Getting a new one took up the first half of Saturday morning so we missed the ecology and feminism lecture.

The best lecture of the weekend was the one on participatory economics on Saturday afternoon. This included some interesting talks on producer and consumer cooperatives and the underlying need to smash capitalism however big or competitive those coops get to be. Also speaking was an IWW member from the Bay

Area on the need for workplace organizing. In all these talks though there was no mention of the need to smash the wage system, entirely, nor any ideas on post-revolutionary economics. Also our enemy was kept as the impersonal capitalism rather than the ruling class, in whose interests the capitalist system works.

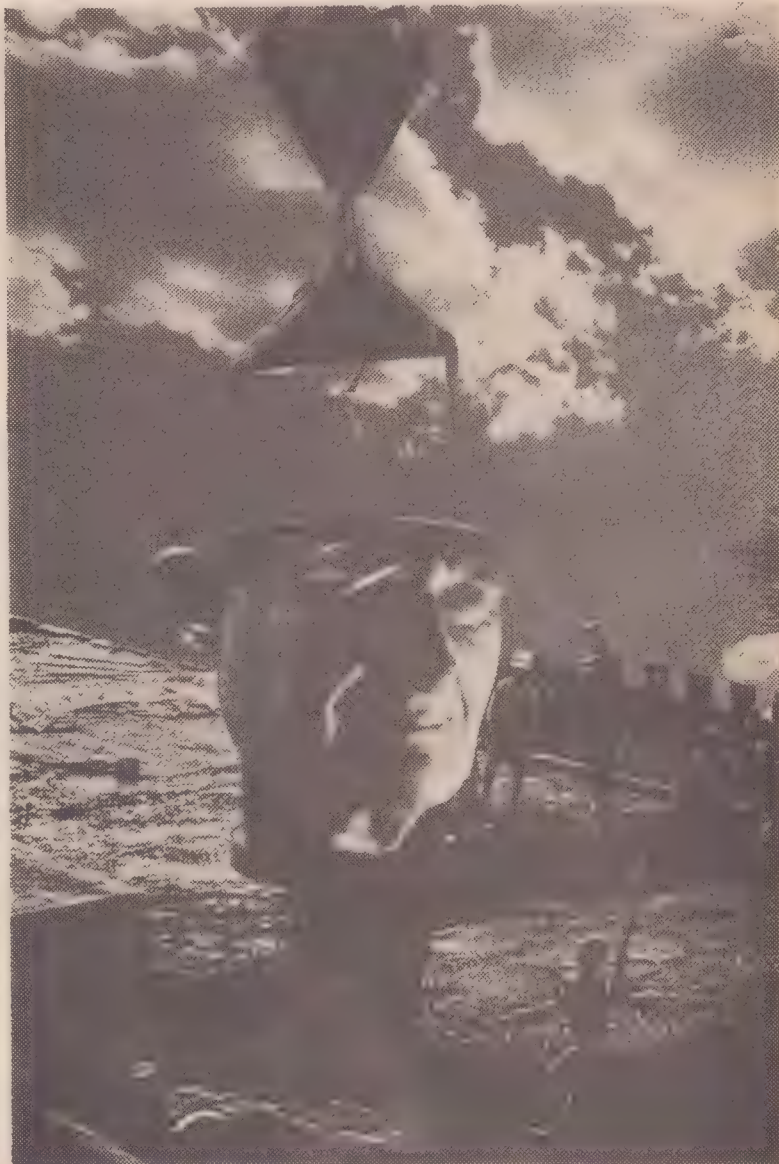
The peak attendance for the conference was about 50, with a ratio of twice as many men as women. There was less than a handful of people of color. Essentially the conference was very white and very middle-class. I missed the next lecture on ecology and racism because I went to the beach for a swim.

The worst lecture followed. This was described by one of the

organizers as the "flagship meeting." It was on electoral strategy. The leaders of the LGN, flown in specially from the east-coast, were reeled out to exhort us to "vote green!" The most clear statement of the manipulative and authoritarian nature of these people was made by Howie Hawkins. He argued that the anarchists who argue for direct action not electoralism were splitters and that unity was paramount. Also that this was consistent with the writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta.

The last speaker in this lecture was the California Green Party candidate for congress. She had not been present at any previous meeting at the conference. I left at this point

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Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).



# Dem-Con '92 in New York

By Amanda Blackwood & Rob Lutenstiel

On July 14th—17th, New York hosted the Democratic National Convention. Activists of all shades planned on using this occasion to voice their protests and to bring them to the attention of wide audiences. Among these activists were anarchists of various stripes who took part in a series of actions called the "Unconventional Action."

The flyers advertising the "Unconventional Action" called (in prototypical yippiesque fashion) for activists to "steal the spotlight" from the *demoncrats*. This turned out to be an impossibility, not only due to the traditional factors of media manipulation and organizational fuck-ups, but also due to new tactics used by the police department to totally eliminate the visual presence of demonstrators.

The police worked out their strategy for this convention for months and developed tactics to quell demonstrations that we will surely see repeated in the future. (Some of them had been in effect to a certain extent already in N.Y.) Their tactics attempted to disappear the demonstrators as much as possible. Demonstrations, in most cases now, cannot take place in front of what you're demonstrating against. Usually you are confined into a barricaded area. This strategy was expanded upon during the convention. Demonstrators were corralled into these 'pig-pens' and then the area was enclosed and surrounded by police. The purpose of this was to visually block passersby and motorists from seeing the demonstrations. In addition, anyone who might stop and try to see

what was going on would be subsequently threatened and told to move on. The goal clearly was to stop any and all interaction that protestors could have with the public. Another clear example of the police-state wiping its ass with the constitution it claims to hold sacred (not that the authors of this article have any respect for that pernicious, racist, sexist document!). Next they'll tell you that all New York demonstrations have to be held in New Jersey or they'll put up partitions around you...not only demonstrators but spectators told police that they were infringing on their civil rights. So much for free speech.

The only demonstrations, naturally, which were given media attention and mostly left alone were those whose demands were in consistency with the platform of the democratic party. Basically this came down to the pro-choice actions and the co-opted AIDS actions (where pig politicians took over the microphone and ACT-UP members were hidden away in some corner). Protests that would normally receive attention—Al Sharpton's, Yugoslav anti-war, Haitians protesting deportation and racism—were ignored. Even the weirdo demos that the media loves to exploit and distort were deliberately ignored. This was an obvious political tactic as such exploitation pieces generally are more interesting to people than ten minute segments on what the Iowa delegation had for lunch.

In sync with the strategy of hiding the demonstrators is what happened to the proposed occupation of Central Park. The parks depart-

ment, arch nemesis of Tompkins Square anarchists, offered their Park Avenue space to all visiting anarchists and squatters, to be used during the Dem-Con, complete with pool and fitness room. Oh, aren't they nice. Yeah, after the police told the homeless to get lost and the parks department pulled this, they can say: "There are no homeless in N.Y.!" Or, more likely there are (Bush's fault), but us eastern liberals are humanitarians and we know how to treat them in style." A split in the organization took place after some organizers cut a deal with the pigs. Even the self-styled 'activist' AAA and Love and Rage Network landed this deal, calling it 'sweet', viewing it as a minor victory. (Then again, they publicized Al Sharpton's and WAC's actions as 'cool'—so much for their judgement).

Despite this deal, a few people did squat the park, but not many. There was a concert—in the day before the convention, and a smoke-in (guess who), but despite attempts to recreate '68, the events drew only slightly fewer people than any other regular NYC happening.

The 'unconventional' actions culminated in the highly anticipated "No Police State" rally/march. The rally was scheduled for the last day of the Dem-Con. The meeting place was Times Square, the destination was Madison Square Garden.

The rally was to begin at 6PM, however already two hours prior, a strong police presence was felt, as witnessed by Laure A. She arrived at Times Square at 4PM and was approached by a pig curious about her leaflets. Asserting his

## Riot L.A.

*Continued from page 22*

LAPD pig would like to see. The pigs have already killed 13 people during the riots as I write this. None of them will probably be prosecuted because no one videotaped it. Most of the looters were not fucking 'hooligans' like Mayor Bradley and some of my more upwardly mobile friends concluded from watching too much TV. While some people are newly homeless and have had their stores destroyed, a huge number of poor people have things they looted that they could otherwise never afford. A lot of poor people are wealthier from the riots and you won't see that reported anywhere. Some people will think in their heads that the L.A. Riots were not legitimate protests because it was mostly uneducated Blacks revolting, not good, wholesome, revolutionary conscious white punks and hippies. Fuckin' bullshit. It was a poor and working class rebellion occasionally misdirected, but more often right on target. I only wish they could have taken it more into Beverly Hills. Hopefully the L.A. Riots will be the beginning of a long, hot summer of discontent and go down in history as the spark that ignited the people to finally start fighting back against the institutions that serve to enslave them.



The march to Madison Square Garden. Photo by Amanda Blackwood (New York, NY.).



intentions he clearly stated they were there "to kick some anarchist ass." I arrived at 5:45PM, and standing across Broadway, witnessed immediate NYPD demo tactics. The few protesters already assembled were quickly made to stand within police barricades—restricting mobility. Not dealing with this, they walked away and headed for the NYPD's Times Square station, a half block away. There, others were waiting. A group of approximately 150-200 people staged a rally and the sidewalk was quickly corded off. Passersby were told to either join (within the barricades) or keep foot traffic coming. I witnessed an argument with a cop and a Bolivian couple who were mighty pissed-off by their lack of choice to stand and listen. All those who wanted to listen or engage in some discourse were quickly pressured to "move along." The rally was blatantly censored by the NYPD, and the speakers, for the most

part, were left speaking to their own. After the speeches, they took to the streets. Almost instantaneously a barrage of pigs were there to "escort" them to Madison Square Garden, eleven blocks away. The swift and immediate mobilization of what seemed like countless cops (on motorscooters and foot) can leave no doubt of intense preparation before hand. The motorcade alone stretched for seven blocks on both sides—stopping midtown rush hour traffic! In addition to the pigs-on-wheels, the cops on foot surrounded the marchers from in front and behind to keep the march in their pace. Several heated outbursts occurred and one of the first arrests made (four in total). Dragging, kicking, and beating an effigy of "one of NY's finest" the march made its way to 8th Ave. turning onto 9th Ave. They were immediately surrounded by pigs four rows deep. At this point by my guess there were at least ten pigs

per marcher. NYPD's tension mounted when a large Haitian protest (neatly kept within their 'pig-pen') gave a rousing cheer of support—raising their fists and shouting "Ice-T was right, Ice-T was right." Realizing that support against them doubled in an instant, the pigs joined hands and literally started crushing the anarchists inward from all sides.

People were pushed down and pushed against wooden and metal police barricades as the crush continued. The protesters pushed through and turned the corner. Immediately the block was barricaded and a stand-off ensued. More arrests were made (including the famed effigy!) which entailed extreme roughness which prompted onlookers to shout "Rodney King, Rodney King". Eventually an ultimatum was offered (sorry—more like insisted upon). The anarchists either had to be escorted out

Continued on next issue...

## The anarchist scene

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

**AUTONOME DISTRIBUTION** (POB 791191, New Orleans, LA. 70179-1191) has a new Summer 1992 mail order catalog out now, listing lots of anarchist and alternative books, bumper stickers, buttons, postcards, tapes, posters and shirts. Copies of the catalog are available for 75¢.

**QVIMBY'S QVEER STORE** (1328 N. Damen, Chicago, IL. 60622) has issued the first installment of its bizarre new 16-page, tabloid-sized mailorder catalog, featuring zines, books like *The Correct Sadist* and *Apocalypse Culture*, and loads of unusual comix. The catalog is free, but I'd send 'em 52¢ in stamps for postage for a copy.

**THE CEDAR PARK ANARCHIST JAVA HUT** (4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA. 19143; phone 724-1469) has a monthly calendar of events available, including meetings, anarchist video nights, discussion groups, etc. Send an SASE for a copy.

**WOMEN'S CALL FOR ENTRIES** to discuss this Year of the Networker and the presence of women in the mail, including "women's statements on the Year of the Networker Congress, being a Networker and/or Postal Artist, or anything else that concerns you." Everyone who responds will receive a published copy of collected contributions. Write to Jennifer Huebert (POB 395, Rifton, NY. 12471).

**LEFT BANK DISTRIBUTION** (4142 Brooklyn Ave. NE., Seattle, WA. 98105) has released its 14-page *Spring 1992 New Titles Update*, available on request, and expects to have a huge new annual catalog out in September 1992. Left Bank catalogs and updates are essential resources for keeping up with anarchist and other radical publishing.

**SOME MADISON ANARCHISTS** (S.M.A., POB 173, Madison, WI. 53701-0173) have formed a group "Interested in networking, etc."

**LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS** (942 Howard St., San Francisco, CA. 94103) has published a new 32-page catalog of right-wing "libertarianism," which is billed as "The World's Largest Selection of Books on Liberty"—though I didn't find all that many inside.

**THE JUBILEE GARDEN** (c/o James Kpehnlne, POB 85777, Seattle, WA. 98145-1777) "will take the form of a wall calendar for the year 1994 (the 1993 Autonomedia Calendar of Jubilee Saints will be out soon)...wherein everyday is a holiday in honor of a

venerable plant." The Jubilee Garden project "needs your nominations,...comments, questions and advice." Send an SASE for nomination forms.

**PERENNIAL BOOKS** (POB 814, Montague, MA. 01351) has issued its second catalog of used books for June 1992, including many books by authors from Noam Chomsky to Paul Goodman, and from Herbert Read to Alice Wexler's Emma Goldman series—all at reasonable prices.

**MARK THE MUSIC: The Life and Work of Marc Blitzstein**, biography of the radical American composer who tried writing a "Sacco and Vanzetti" opera in the '60s, is available from the author Eric Gordon (14 Ozone Ave. #4, Venice, CA. 90291-2482) at 1/3 price of \$10 plus \$2 postage.

**PROFANE EXISTENCE Mailorder Distribution Catalog #4** is an 8-page tabloid selection of recordings, zines, T-shirts and even a couple books available from *Profane Existence* (POB 8722, Minneapolis, MN. 55408).

**ANARCHISM TOWARDS THE 21ST CENTURY** is a 32-page pamphlet setting out the perspective propounded by the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society (POB 20, Parkville, 3052 Melbourne, Australia) and the Anarchist Media Institute (POB 6, Alphington 3078, Australia). Send a contribution for a copy.

**SUPPORT FOR NATIVE SOVEREIGNTY** (POB 2104, Seattle, WA. 98101) has started issuing "information packets," articles and updates on Native American struggles. If your publication or project can use these types of materials, send a 52¢ SASE for more information on what's available.

**THE BOSTON ANARCHIST DRINKING BRIGADE** (POB 1323, Cambridge, MA. 02238) has published B.A.D. Broadides #5 & #6 titled "An Anarchist Defense of Pornography" and "Anarchism and Civility." Send an SASE for copies.

**ESSENTIAL SLOGANS FOR THE REVOLUTION** is a 16-page mini-booklet of anarchist and situationist slogans available for \$1 from *Media Blitz* (POB 20420, London Terrace St., NYC, NY. 10011).

**AK DISTRIBUTION** (3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, FK8 2RD Scotland) is releasing a new 64-page catalog containing about 4,000 listings, available "for a large SAE or a dollar."

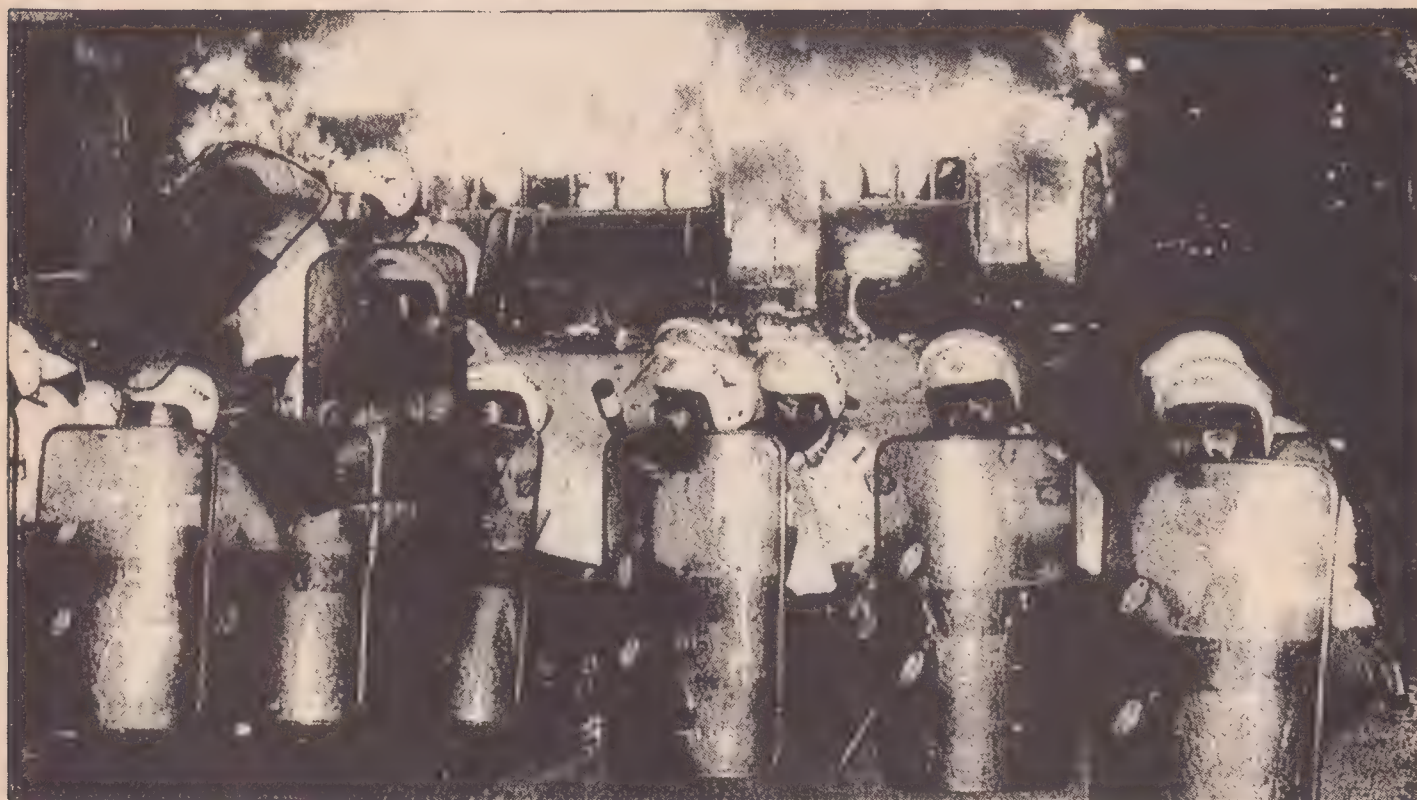
**BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA ANARCHISTS** (POB 3207, Bloomington, IN. 47402-3207) are hosting a Midwestern picnic/gathering for the weekend of October 2-4 with a theme of "Practical Anarchy!..." asking the question: what can we do, here and now, to create sustainable, renewable social, cultural, political, and economic relationships based on the principles we hold dear...?"

**L.A. FREEDOM '91** is an interesting video of a series of panel discussions that were organized at the end of last summer involving anarchist publishers. Participants include Mike Gunderloy (former publisher of *Factsheet Five*), Ryam Nearing (publisher of *Loving More*), Robert Shea (*No Governor*), Robert Anton Wilson, Jay Kinney (*Gnosis*), Susie Bright (formerly of *On Our Backs*), Michael Ziesing (*Instead of a Magazine*), and others. Topics include technology, cops, sex, communes, alternative media, religion and more. Here's your chance to get to know a little bit more about these successful publishing activists. For a copy send a check for \$17 made out to TADCO to C.A.L. (POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446)

**A FEW BACK ISSUES OF ANARCHY: A Journal of Desire Armed** (C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446) are still available in bulk for free distribution at the cost of postage & packaging. We have extras of several issues including #17, #19 & #26, along with a very few extras of other odd issues. For those living in the U.S. we suggest you send about 10¢ to 25¢ each (depending on the size of the issue[s] requested and your distance from Missouri) for 50 to 150 copies. (Unless you live in the Midwest—where postage will be cheaper, send a *minimum* of \$7.50, and make any checks out to "C.A.L." only. Those outside the continental U.S. need to send much more to cover the higher costs of postage.) All copies will be marked "FREE" on the covers. To order bulk copies for resale, see the terms listed in the box on page 2.

If you have announcements concerning anarchist gatherings, new publications, or other anarchist activities or projects which our readers might find of use, you can send them to: Attn. Anarchist Scene, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. Please remember, for more information, or for ordering materials listed in this column, you must write to the addresses given above and not to C.A.L.





A police bus burns during a confrontation between students and police in Athens. Photo from *Disturbance* (POB 31261, 10035 Athens, Greece).

## The Greek student struggle

*Note: This is a belated update (written in November 1991) on the report in **Anarchy** #29/Summer '91 titled "Our dreams will become their nightmares: Student uprising in Greece."*

**T**he educational system is one of the peak issues in Greek society at this time. It is obsolete, formalistic, and anti-humanistic. It complies, of course, with the rest of Greek society, which is highly alienating, especially under the present economic conditions.

In spite of this, Greek society has a much higher degree of 'sociality' than other European countries. This sociality loses territory daily, due to the EEC (European Economic Community) standards which are being imposed on the country by the IMF and all other international institutions of the kind.

Children are the first—and the main—victims of this kind of 'modernization'. They are losing their playgrounds and their playtime. They are also losing their sociality due to their being obliged to live and grow in flats, thus being deprived not only of friends, but even the very idea of friendship, community, solidarity, etc. For them, the only room to develop a social personality and to maintain their ideas/values, is the classroom. During the years that followed the fall of the military junta (1974), we have witnessed an intensification of studies which were claimed by the different governments to "cover new sectors of knowledge" like electronics, information, biology, nuclear physics, etc.,

in an effort to combine educational and economic needs and perspectives.

So far, the situation is reasonable, at least from a purely capitalist point of view. Irrationalism begins when nationalistic aspects of the Greek society appear. Religion and homeland matters influence our educational system deeply. Last year, after a short interval (1981-1989) of an "educational reform," the ministry of education announced its intention to impose morning prayer and required uniforms on the students. This was the start of the unrest. It was soon followed by other oppressive measures, such as longer school hours, reinstituting lessons in ancient Greek into high school curricula, etc. Students reacted, occupying their schools (in January, 1990, more than 90% of the schools throughout the country were occupied by their pupils). The government organized an operation—mainly based on the mobilization of parents against their children's will and interests—which led to the assassination of Nikos Temponeras, a teacher who was supporting the student's struggle, and four other people who were burnt alive by the cops during the demonstration that followed the first murder.

Then the Gulf War burst out, finally putting an end to the unrest—if not revolt—which had already infected technical schools and universities and had gained wider support (thus seriously threatening the government). During the summer, the government tried to gain a consensus of the political parties of the opposition and started a "national dialogue on education." Not only the opposition parties, but also the

teachers' unions, and above all, the students, rejected the government's proposals.

In September, 1991, the government went on to impose more oppressive measures, such as exams at elementary schools, exams at each high school year, more religion and ancient Greek lessons, etc. Starting in October, the students occupied the schools again, to protest the new situation. The government mobilized its followers and incited them to attack the occupied schools. On October 10, 1991 the pro-government press announced that a 15-year-old boy had raped a 12-year-old girl at an occupied school. The story was soon proven false, but the correction never reached the front pages. This was the signal for more attacks from "enraged parents and citizens" against the occupied schools. It is characteristic to mention that a teacher, at a high school in Corfu, stabbed one of his pupils with a pair of scissors because the boy was fighting against the government's new policies. In October students in Athens organized a march to the ministry of education. They left the Polytechnic School (a historical place, where most post-junta student marches start from and end at) and they headed to the ministry. The education minister, Souflias, refused to receive a student committee. Instead, he ordered the police to disperse the crowd, consisting of 2,000 boys and girls. Police started tear-gassing the students, who set fire to garbage bins to protect themselves from the gases, as they were trying to retreat to the Polytechnic school. Many protesters were injured.



The next week, on October 24th, the children organized another march to the ministry. As the marchers were approaching the ministry, they were attacked by groups of plainclothes cops and ruling-party followers, who threw stones at the students and beat them with boards and iron bars. The children retreated to the Syntagma square, where the houses of parliament are located. There, they were provoked by the crew of a private security van. The van was stoned and kicked until a massive attack of riot police obliged the marchers to leave the square and head back to the Polytechnic. On their way, a television crew tried to photograph them, whereupon the Antenna TV van was burned (Antenna, known as the "Cop's TV," is one of the most fascist channels in Greece. It is owned by Kiriakou, a ship owner.) When the marchers reached the Polytechnic, some entered the building for safety, but the majority of the people barricaded the streets and prepared to resist the police attack. Other students occupied the ASOEE (commercial and economics school). Around 4 PM, the police began their attack using tear gas and smoke. Approximately 1,000 of the students took refuge in the Polytechnic and ASOEE. The police then formed a ring around the Polytechnic, isolating one school from the other, blocking all entrances.

Six people were arrested that night during the clashes: Basilis Kapnisis, Basilis Xanthis, Nikos Gougostamos, Iasonas Papadimitriou, Irini Koutsogiorgou, and Thanassis Haldoupis.

In the meantime, the clashes continued all night outside the Polytechnic and in the streets

nearby. Late that night, the Dean of the Polytechnic tried to persuade police to stop using tear gas and escort students out of the Polytechnic and away from the square. But when students came out, the cops started using tear gas, while the "enraged citizens" threw stones at the students and struck them with truncheons and iron bars. Some of the students ran back into the Polytechnic seeking safety.

At around 3 AM, the cops set fire to a historical building of the Polytechnic school. (The tear-gas canisters that the police use are extremely dangerous and can cause fires and severe burns). Early in the morning, the police asked for permission to enter the Polytechnic and evacuate the students. (In Greece, all University buildings have some sort of immunity. The police cannot enter these buildings without permission from the Dean and the Board of Professors. This immunity at the Polytechnic had not been violated since 1973, when the junta had sent the army to clear the school). At 9 AM, the riot police received permission to enter the school, where 28 people are arrested, two of them under 18. The next day, the arrested had charges pressed against them at the District Attorney's Office. Many people came to express solidarity, but riot cops kept people out of the building.

On October 29, 1991 the trial of the first six began, however one of the defendants fell unconscious in the courtroom, a result of police beatings. The District Attorney and the President of the Court did not allow him medical care, even after an ambulance had arrived. Finally, four hours later, he was moved to a hospital under police surveillance.

The trial of the other five continued. The witnesses were cops; the five were convicted with extremely high sentences, ranging from five to seven years in prison.

On October 29, the trial against 27 of the 28 arrested in the evacuation began. The courthouse was still surrounded by riot police. On October 31 the trial ended: six were found not guilty and set free, two were sentenced to two years, six months, twelve were sentenced to one year, six months, and five were sentenced to one year in prison. On November 1, the District Attorney announced that it was wrong that the six were acquitted and the others were sentenced to such short terms. He also charged the 27 for burning down the building at the Polytechnic.

Shortly after midnight the same day, a group calling themselves "November 17" attacked a riot police bus with missiles, killing one cop and injuring six more.

On November 2, 33 people were arrested for posterizing and handing out leaflets against the police and fascists. They were all taken to the anti-terrorist and Protection of the State departments at police headquarters. There, they were beaten and tortured; a pregnant woman had her head banged against a wall, men were beaten, etc. They were denied contact with lawyers or any type of medical care. On their trial on November 3, they all had visible signs of the torture they underwent. All 33 were sentenced to six months in prison, but were temporarily released on appeal for a new trial.

From AP/ABC Athens (8 Aristidou St., 105-59 Athens, Greece) and A/Coil (POB 30658, Athens 10033, Greece).

## Slagging off the LGN

Continued from page 23

and did not hear her speak. Yet again I gave up the chance to put my point of view directly to everyone in the question and answer session, but I don't regret this because it seemed most of the dissidents and malcontents were outside anyway.

We left the conference to go hiking in the San Rafael wilderness area on Sunday and so missed the plenary. But I'd seen enough. The Left Green Network is best avoided unless you're willing to put a lot of energy in challenging the dominant authoritarian and complacent ideology of its leadership, and hence drag the better people away from that leadership. For those who do get involved, beware! Their seemingly progressive and radical ideas are being used as a cover to drag anti-authoritarians into the electoral circus. That they have joined the Love and Rage project's anti presidential election boycott is bizarre. But they do have a bizarre ideology. Confederal municipalism puts forward the nonsensical idea that the local state is good but the national state is bad. This ideology needs to be trashed as merely another face of the same old leftist garbage. We've had enough leftist states to know that all states stink the same.

Against electioneering! Against the Left Green Network; for anarchist-communism! Smash the state!

## An interview with a leading anarchist

The following interview is with Gemma Kirby, age 26 months, by her mother, Jane.

**Jane:** I'd like to interview you. Would you like to answer some questions?

**Gemma:** Yeah. Did you get some pens?

**J:** Yes. Just one. O.K., what's your name?

**G:** Gemma Querida Kirby.

**J:** How old are you?

**G:** I don't know.

**J:** Are you a baby?

**G:** A girl. A baby. A girl. I'm not a girl, I'm a baby. Watch what I can do. The dizzy kid's show. (She runs over to the middle of the floor and twirls about on all fours.) Like that.

**J:** What did you do today?

**G:** Nothing. I walked in the snow and I slide on those...ummmm...what are those? Hay loaves. Oh. I slide on those hay loaves, too. No trees. Show patch. ("Hay loaves" are the big bales of hay sitting out in the neighboring fields.)

**J:** What did you eat today?

**G:** A vitamin.

**J:** What is your favorite thing to eat?

**G:** Bread. A sandwich, peas, yeah, peas are my favorite breakfast. Do we have peas? Can I have some? Watch I can do. (She climbs between couch and coffee table.)

**J:** What is your favorite animal?

**G:** Buffalo one. A buffalo one. I like a baby one, not a scary one. A mama one and a baby one and a daddy one. Hi, mama! (She bumps her head.)

**J:** Oops, did you bump your head?

**G:** No. I didn't. Hoopster. (She smiles at her trick on me.)

**J:** What's your sister's name?

**G:** Alli Victoria, yeah.

**J:** How old is she?

**G:** Five. Yeah, five.

**J:** What kind of games do you like to play?

**G:** Big Bird and Mary had a little lamb.

**J:** What do you do in your spare time?

**G:** Play, play, play. I drewed that. What's that? What's that little thing? (She sees a drawing on the note paper I'm using.) Don't write on it.

**J:** Do you like scary stories?

**G:** Yeah, from daddy and Beppo and me.

**J:** Why is daddy telling a story to Alli?

**J:** Because it is bedtime.

**G:** Why? Why?

**J:** Do you like to talk on the phone?

**G:** Yeah, to you everytime.

**J:** What's your favorite color?

**G:** That one. (Points to yellow.)

**J:** What's your favorite show?

**G:** Casper the Friendly Ghost...Betty Boop.

**J:** What are your favorite books?

**G:** Madeline, Thomas the Tank Engine, Merriweather (this means Sleeping Beauty) Mary Poppins....

**J:** What do you want to be when you grow up?

**G:** A skeleton that glows in the dark. To live in the dark. It's nice in there. And Alli will be a unicorn when she grows up.

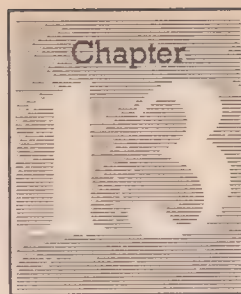




*Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).*



# The Revolution of Everyday Life



by  
Raoul  
Vaneigem

*The impossibility of realization:  
Power as sum of seductions*

People live separated from one another, separated from what they are in others, and separated from themselves. The history of humanity is the history of one basic separation which precipitates and determines all the others: the social distinction between masters and slaves. By means of history men try to find one another and attain unity. The class struggle is but one stage, though a decisive one, in the struggle for the whole man.

Just as the ruling class has every reason in the world to deny the existence of the class struggle, so the history of separation is necessarily indistinguishable from the history of the dissimulation of separation. This mystification results less from a deliberate intent than from a long drawn out and confused battle in which the desire for unity has generally ended up being transformed into its opposite. Wherever separation is not totally eliminated it is reinforced. When the bourgeoisie came to power, fresh light was shed on the factors which divide men in this most essential way, for bourgeois revolution laid bare the social and material character of separation.

\* \* \*

What is God? The guarantor and quintessence of the myth used to justify the domination of man by man. This repellent invention has no other *raison d'être*. As myth decomposes and passes into the stage of the spectacle, the Grand External Object, as Lautréamont called him, is shattered by the forces of social atomization and degenerates into a remedy for intimate use only—a sort of salve for social diseases.

At the high point of the crisis brought on by the end of classical philosophy and of the ancient world, Christianity's genius lay in the fact that it subordinated the recasting of a mythic system to

Where constraint breaks people, and mediation makes fools of them, the seduction of power is what makes them love their oppression. Because of it people give up their real riches: (a) for a cause that mutilates them [chapter twelve], (b) for an imaginary unity that fragments them [chapter thirteen], (c) for an appearance that reifies them [chapter fourteen], (d) for roles that wrest them from authentic life [chapter fifteen], (e) for a time whose passage defines and confines them [chapter sixteen].

## Separation

Privative appropriation, the basis of social organization, keeps individuals separated from themselves and from others. Artificial unitary paradises seek to conceal this separation by assimilating, more or less successfully, people's prematurely shattered dreams of unity. To no avail. People may be forced to swing back and forth across the narrow gap between the pleasure of creating and the pleasure of destroying, but this very oscillation suffices to bring Power to its knees.

one fundamental principle: the doctrine of the Trinity. What does this dogma of the Three in One, which caused so much ink and blood to flow, really mean?

Man belongs to God in his soul, to the temporal authority in his body, and to himself in his spirit. His salvation depends on his soul, his liberty on his spirit, his earthly existence on his body. The soul envelops the body and the spirit, and without the soul these are as nothing. If we look more closely at this schema, we find an analogy for the union of master and slave under the principle of man envisaged as a divine creature. The slave is the body, the labor power appropriated by the lord; the master is his spirit which governs the body and invests it with a small part of its higher essence. The slave sacrifices himself in body to the power of the master, while the master sacrifices himself in spirit to the community of his slaves (e.g., the king 'serving' his people, de Gaulle 'serving' France, the Pope washing the feet of the poor). The slave abdicates his earthly life in exchange for the feeling of being free, that is, for the

spirit of the master come down into him. Consciousness mystified is mythic consciousness. The master makes a notional gift of his master's power to all those whom he governs. By drenching the alienation of bodies in the subtler alienation of the spirit, he economizes on the amount of violence needed to maintain slavery. The slave identifies in spirit, or at least he may, with the master to whom he gives up his life force. But whom can the master identify with! Not with his slaves *qua* possessions, *qua* bodies, certainly: rather, with his slaves *qua* emanation of the spirit of mastery itself, of the master supreme. Since the individual master must sacrifice himself on the spiritual plane, he has to find someone or something within the coherent mythic system to make this sacrifice *to*: this need is met by a notion of mastery-in-itself of which he partakes and to which he submits. The historically contingent class of masters had thus to create a God to bow down to spiritually and with whom to identify. God validated both the master's mythic sacrifice to the public good and the slave's real sacrifice to the master's private and



privative power. God is the principle of all submission, the night which makes all crimes lawful. The only illegal crime is the refusal to accept a master. God is a harmony of lies, an ideal form uniting the slave's voluntary sacrifice (Christ), the consenting sacrifice of the master (the Father; the slave as the master's son), and the indissoluble link between them (the Holy Ghost). The same model underlies the ideal picture of man as a divine, whole and mythic creature: a *body* subordinated to a guiding *spirit* working for the greater glory of the *soul*—the soul being the all embracing synthesis.

We thus have a type of relationship in which two terms take their meaning from an absolute principle, from an obscure and inaccessible norm of unchallengeable transcendence (God, blood, holiness, grace, etc.). Innumerable dualities of this type were kept bubbling for century after century like a good stew on the fire of mythic unity. Then the bourgeoisie took the pot off the fire and was left with nothing but a vague nostalgia for the warmth of the unitary myth and a set of cold and flavorless abstractions: body and spirit, being and consciousness, individual and society, private and public, general and particular, etc., etc. Ironically, though moved by class interests, the bourgeoisie destroyed the unitary myth and its tripartite structure to its own detriment. The wish for unity, so effectively fobbed off by the mythic thinking of unitary regimes, did not disappear along with those regimes: on the contrary, the wish became all the more urgent as the material nature of separation became clearer and clearer to people's consciousness. By laying bare the economic and social foundations of separation, the bourgeoisie supplied the arms which will serve to end separation once and for all. And the end of separation means the end of the bourgeoisie and of all hierarchical power. This is why no ruling class or caste can effect the transformation of feudal unity into real unity, into true social participation. This mission can only be accomplished by the new proletariat, which must forcibly wrest the *third force* (spontaneous creation, poetry) from the gods, and keep it alive in the everyday life of all. The transient period of fragmentary power will then be seen in its true light as a mere moment of insomnia, as the vanishing point prerequisite

to the reversal of perspective, as the step back preparatory to the leap of transcendence.

\* \* \*

History testifies to the struggle waged against the unitary principle and to the ways in which a dualistic reality began to emerge. The challenge was voiced to begin with in a theological language, the official language of myth. Later the idiom became that of ideology, the idiom of the spectacle. In their preoccupations, the Manichaeans, the Cathari, the Hussites, the Calvinists, etc, have much in common with such figures as Jean de Meung, La Boétie or Vanino Vanini. We find Descartes desperately locating the soul, for want of any better place, in the pineal gland. The Cartesian God is a funambulist balancing for some perfectly unaccountable reason atop a perfectly intelligible world. Pascal's, by contrast, hides himself from view, so depriving man and the world of a justification without which they are left in meaningless confrontation, each being the only criterion for judging the other: how can something be measured against nothing?

By the close of the eighteenth century the fabric was rending in all directions as the process of decomposition began to speed up. This was the beginning of the era of "little men" in competition. Fragments of human beings claimed the status of absolutes: matter, mind, consciousness, action, universal, particular—what God could put this Humpty Dumpty together again?

The spirit of feudal lordship had found an adequate justification in a certain transcendence. But a capitalist God is an absurdity. Whereas lordship called for a trinitarian system, capitalist exploitation is dualistic. Moreover, it cannot be dissociated from the material nature of economic relationships. The economic realm is no mystery: the nearest things to miracles here are the element of chance in the functioning of the market and the perfect programming of computerized planning. Calvin's rational God is much less attractive than the loans with interest that Calvinism authorizes so readily. As for the God of the Anabaptists of Munster and of the revolutionary peasant of 1525, he is a primitive expression of the irrepressible thrust of the masses towards a society of

whole men.

The mystical authority of the feudal lord was very different from that instituted by the bourgeoisie. For the lord did not simply change his role and become a factory boss: once the mysterious superiority of blood and lineage is abolished, nothing is left but a mechanics of exploitation and a race for profit which have no justification but themselves. Boss and worker are separated not by any qualitative distinction of birth but merely by quantitative distinctions of money and power. Indeed, what makes capitalist exploitation so repulsive is the fact that it occurs between 'equals'. All the same, the bourgeoisie's work of destruction—though quite unintentionally, of course—reveals the justification for even revolution. When peoples stop being fooled they stop doing what they are told.

\* \* \*

Fragmentary power carries fragmentation to the point where the human beings over which it holds sway themselves become contradictory. At the same time the unitary lie breaks down. The death of God democratizes the consciousness of separation. What was the "Romantic agony" if not a response to the pain of this split? Today we see it in every aspect of life: in love, in the human gaze, in nature, in our dreams, in reality. Hegel spoke of the tragedy of consciousness; he would have been nearer the mark had he spoken of a consciousness of tragedy. We find such a consciousness in revolutionary form in Marx. A far more comforting picture, from the viewpoint of Power, is offered by Peter Schlemiel setting off in search of his own shadow so as to forget that he is really a shadow in search of a body. The bourgeoisie's invention of artificial unitary paradises is a self-defensive reflex which is more or less successful in retrieving the old enchantment and reviving prematurely shattered dreams of unity.

Thus in addition to the great collective onanisms—ideologies, illusions of social unity, herd mentalities, opiums of the people—we are offered a whole range of marginal solutions lying in the no-man's-land between the permissible and the forbidden: individualized ideology, obsession, monomania, unique (and hence alienating) passions, drugs and other



highs (alcohol, the cult of speed and rapid change, of rarefied sensations, etc). Now all these pursuits allow us to lose ourselves completely while preserving the impression of self-realization, but the corrosiveness of such activities stems above all from their partial quality. The passion for play is no longer alienating wherever the person who gives himself up to it seeks play in the whole of life—in love, in thought, in the construction of situations. In the same way the wish to kill is no longer megalomania if it is combined with revolutionary consciousness.

Unitary palliatives thus entail two risks for Power. In the first place they fail to satisfy, and in the second they tend to foster the will to build a real social unity. Mystical elevation led only to God; by contrast, horizontal historical progression towards a dubious spectacular unity is infinitely finite. It creates an unlimited appetite for the absolute, yet its quantitative nature is limiting by definition. Its mad rush, therefore, must sooner or later debouch into the qualitative, whether in a negative way or—should a revolutionary consciousness prevail—through the transformation of negativity into positivity. The negative road does not lead to self-realization: it precipitates us into a willful self-destruction. Madness deliberately sought, the voluptuousness of crime and cruelty, the convulsive lightning of perversity—these are the enticing paths open to such unrepentant self-annihilation. To take them is merely to respond with unusual enthusiasm to the gravitational pull of Power's own tendency to dismember and destroy. But if it is to last, Power has to shackle its destructiveness: the good general oppresses his men, he does not execute them. On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether nothingness can be successfully doled out drop by drop. The limited pleasures derived from self-destruction could end up bringing down the power which sets such limits to pleasure. We only have to look at Stockholm or Watts to see that negative pleasure is forever on the point of tipping over into total pleasure—a little shove, and negative violence releases its positivity. I believe that *all* pleasure embodies the search for total, unitary satisfaction, in every sphere—a fact which I doubt Huysmans had the humor to see when he solemnly described a man with an erection as 'insurgent'.

The complete unchaining of pleasure is the surest way to the revolution of everyday life, to the construction of the whole man.

*The complete text of Raoul Vaneigem's Revolution of Everyday Life is available from C.A.L. (POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446) for \$11.00 postpaid.*



*Collage by Phillip Lollar (POB 411021, San Francisco, CA. 94141-1021).*



# Postcards from Prison

## *Pages from a jailhouse journal*

By Nick DiSpoldo

**T**he Southern Desert Correctional Center (SDCC) is located in open, arid desert, forty miles north of Las Vegas and just twenty-eight miles south of the U.S. nuclear test site at Mercury, Nev. Inmates joke that it will require but one significant mathematical mistake and we will all disintegrate and dissolve into desert dust. At night, a pack of coyotes, on their way to the institution's garbage dump, pause at the prison's perimeter, staring through the barbed wire at the even stranger creatures inside.

Two creatures held in contempt and scorned by society: coyotes and convicts.

Midnight: the hour that made a madman of Edgar Allan Poe, a fortune for Elvira, mistress of the dark, and, of course, we all know what it did for Cinderella. For me, its the hour when the cellhouse begins to quiet and I can be alone with my books, diaries, correspondence, manuscripts and the transcripts and legal papers of inmates to whom I teach law and writ-writing. Once in a while, to alleviate the fatigue of literary labors, I listen to my radio: National Public Radio, Larry King, Tom Snyder or celebrated bimbo Sally Jesse Raphael and her neurotic suburban housewives.

Tonight it is especially quiet: even a fart sounds like a hurricane.

The present Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, has modified nearly all of the rights granted prisoners under the Warren court (1953-69). Mr. Rehnquist, whom I suspect serves as technical advisor for television's *Night Court*, was appointed to the court in 1972 by Nixon and named Chief Justice by Reagan in 1986. Rehnquist has consistently voted against expanding prisoner rights and has sought to reconstruct the historical iron curtain that, prior to the Warren court, always

existed between the constitution and the American prisoner.

It would be difficult to understand the relative regressiveness of the Rehnquist court without understanding the historical evolution of prisoner rights.

I have structured this evolution in what I call the four R's: Revenge, Repentance, Rehabilitation, Regression.

There was a time when Dante's phrase for the gates of hell—"Abandon hope, all ye who enter"—would have been an appropriate inscription to have

placed at the gates of America's prisons. In the eighteenth century, New York's Auburn Prison employed the "silence system"; prisoners were not permitted to even *speak* to one another, the *Bible* was the only permissible reading material and prisoners were encouraged to be repentant. The word 'penitentiary', in fact, derives from 'penitent' the penological prescription prisoners were expected to fill. Prisoners, of course, were stripped of all civil rights and suffered total civil death.



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).



In researching prison related cases, I 'discovered' a case in **Ruffin vs. Commonwealth** (1871) which reflected a judicial attitude that persisted well into the twentieth century. The Virginia Supreme Court declared: "As a consequence of his crime, the felon forfeits not only his liberty, but also his personal rights, except those which the law in its humanity affords him...*He is for the time being the slave of the state.*"<sup>1</sup>

The Supreme Court was established in 1789 and it was not until 1941 that the court interfered with prison officials—for the first time—in behalf of a prisoner.

Cleio Hull, a Michigan prisoner, had attempted to file a writ of habeas corpus with a federal court and prison authorities intercepted the writ to determine if it was "properly drawn." The court ruled: "Whether writ is properly drawn or what allegations it must contain are questions for that court alone to determine...Officials may not abridge prisoners' access to the courts..."<sup>2</sup> This case established a prisoner's right of access to the courts and is vital as later courts were to interpret 'access' to mean the right of jailhouse lawyers to help other inmates (**Johnson vs. Avery** 1969); the right of state inmates to sue state officials in federal court (**Cooper vs. Pate** 1964); the ruling that adequate law libraries must be established in all U.S. prisons (**Bounds vs. Smith** 1977) absent other alternatives.

The liberal egalitarian legacy of the Warren court began in 1956 in **Griffin vs. Illinois** in which the court ruled that indigent prisoners must be provided with free transcripts for purposes of appeal. Justice Black, writing the majority opinion, observed: "There can be no equal justice where the kind of trial a man gets depends on how much money he has."<sup>3</sup>

Before the Warren court, the criminal justice protections of the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments did not apply to *state* criminal trials; they only applied to *federal* prosecutions. The Warren court—literally—made the constitution available to the poor, the underprivileged, the prisoner:

**Mapp vs. Ohio** (unlawfully seized evidence by police must be excluded from court—the exclusionary rule; 1961)<sup>4</sup>; **Robinson vs. California** (state laws making status of drug addiction a crime are cruel and unusual punishment; 1962)<sup>5</sup>; **Gideon vs. Wainwright** (right to

attorney in all state felony trials; before **Gideon**, poor defendants were provided counsel only in capital cases; 1962)<sup>6</sup>; **Malloy vs. Hogan** (right against self-incrimination; 1964)<sup>7</sup>; **Miranda vs. Arizona** (right to remain silent; 1966)<sup>8</sup>; **Duncan vs. Louisiana** (right to jury trial is applicable to states; 1968)<sup>9</sup>.

In **Johnson vs. Avery** the court invalidated a Tennessee State Prison rule prohibiting the activities of jailhouse lawyers.

**Avery** was handed down in 1969 and Justice Fortas held: "The initial burden of presenting a claim to post-conviction relief usually rests upon the indigent prisoner himself with such help as he can obtain behind prison walls. The average prisoner is, in effect, denied access to the courts unless such help is available."<sup>10</sup>

I was particularly grateful for **Avery**. Although I was as yet an unpublished writer in 1969, I was confined in California's San Quentin Prison and I was often punished for helping inmates with legal problems. Guards ransacked my cell every other day and cut my typewriter ribbons or glued my stamps together.

The news reports tonight that Justice Thurgood Marshall will soon retire [*he has since retired*] from the court. The last great libertarian will be gone from the court and the swing to the right is certain.

There should be a statue of Marshall (as well as Warren, Douglas, Brennan and Black) in every town square in America. Marshall wrote an opinion in **Procunier vs. Martinez** which remains a model of admiration. In **Martinez** (1973) the court ended the routine censorship of inmate mail when it declared that the California Department of Corrections' mail regulations were unconstitutional.

In recognizing First Amendment rights of convicts, the court considered also the First Amendment rights of persons to whom convicts were writing. Justice Marshall, in characteristic eloquence, observed: "A prisoner does not shed basic First Amendment rights at the front gate...whether an O'Henry writing his short stories in a jail cell or a frightened young inmate writing his family, a prisoner needs a medium for self-expression."

Justice Powell added: "Communication by letter is not accomplished by act of writing words on paper. Rather, it is effected only when letter is read by

addressee."<sup>11</sup>

Someone sent me Charles W. Colson's *Life Sentence* and I'm not much impressed. Colson, one of the Watergate defendants, served only seven months in Maxwell Air Force Base and Fort Holabird and to listen to him one would think he closed Alcatraz, opened Leavenworth and walked the Big Yard at Attica. His book is dull and tedious. Like most Christians, he reads whatever symbolism and significance that is convenient into the simplest of human events. After his release, he describes a softball game between 'ex-cons' and 'straights'. Colson played for the ex-cons and describes how his team came from behind in the last inning to win 17-16.

Colson tells us it was 'symbolic'. To my mind it is only symbolic of the need for better pitching.

Colson's reflections on Nixon are interesting. Had Nixon known many of his friends and associates would end up serving time, he might have become the first president in U.S. history to have made prison reform a part of his platform.

Still, Richard M. Nixon has made a very important sociological contribution to America. As he carried 49 out of 50 states in his re-election win over McGovern, he has conclusively proven that the whole goddam country is *crazy*, except Massachusetts.

In **Bounds vs. Smith** (1977), the court ordered the states to either establish "adequate law libraries" in all prisons or provide inmates with persons trained in the law. The states opted for the former as being the least costly. **Bounds** also holds that inmates at state expense must be provided with paper, pen, notarial services, stamps, and prisoners may not be charged for docket or filing fees. Rehnquist, a Republican—meaning he understands little that hasn't happened before—wrote that convicts, once they have had a direct appeal, have no constitutional right of access to the courts or to mount collateral attacks on their convictions.

Fortunately, Marshall and a slim majority prevailed: "Even most dedicated trial judges are bound to overlook meritorious cases without benefit of an adversary presentation...Moreover, if the state files a response to a prose pleading, it will undoubtedly contain seemingly authoritative citations...without a library, an inmate will be unable to



rebut the state's argument."<sup>12</sup>

**Bounds**, of course, did not provide an immediate panacea. A law library is one thing; for laymen to utilize it is quite another. A clear majority of America's convicts are poorly-educated; many are semi-literate, and not a few possess the study habits of Curly, Moe and Larry.

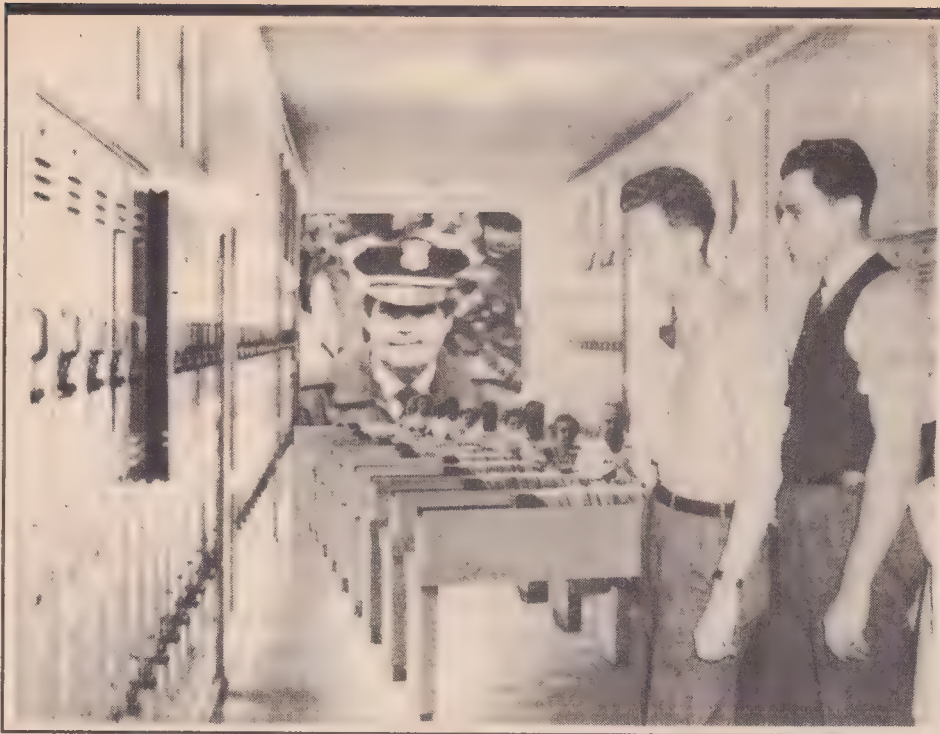
Many inmates do not read at all and will never know Sinclair Lewis from Jerry Lewis. Western novels, *Playboy*, *Easysiders*, *T.V. Guide* or the *National Enquirer* are the staples of the convict literary diet, with a dash of Sidney Sheldon or Stephen King. Most cons prefer to be tranquilized by trivia: Saturday morning cartoons, re-runs of *Bonanza*, *Star Trek*, or *Gunsmoke*.

Convicts always complain about the quality of food, but sometimes the food is so bad it is actually *unlawful*. In *Nicholson vs. Choctaw County*, Alabama jail prisoners filed a class action suit to enjoin sheriff's deputies from serving road kill to prisoners.

An order from U.S. District Court read, in part, "No animal killed on the road or highway may be served in the Choctaw County Jail."<sup>13</sup>

I think Alabama has sent its road kill to Nevada. I don't expect continental cuisine—hell, I don't even expect a burrito from Taco Bell—but how grown men can fuck-up even hot dogs and rice, is beyond me. Three times a week we have some sort of mystery meat, of varying colors, that has the consistency of hockey pucks and looks as though it belongs under a glass in a Harvard laboratory.

In *Turner vs. Safley* (1987), the Rehnquist court made clear its view of the prison community and the rights of prisoners when the court held that the proper standard for determining whether a prison regulation claimed to infringe on an inmate's constitutional rights is valid, is to ask whether the



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

regulation is "...reasonably related to legitimate penological interests."<sup>14</sup>

The court has armed corrections officials with a convenient catch-all clause that enables authorities to bar any inmate activity (claiming "detriment to security") or censoring political publications deemed 'inflammatory'.

This "Turner test" will—given the overwhelming conservative majority of the current court—be applicable and applied to prison issues well into the twenty-first century.

The court used the Turner test to restrict 'radical' publications in a federal Prison. In *Thornburgh vs. Abbott* (1989), the court ruled that an inmate can be prevented from receiving any publication if it is "...detrimental to the security, good order, or discipline of the institution, or if it might facilitate criminal activity."<sup>15</sup>

In *Washington vs. Harper* (1990), the Supreme Court handed down its most dangerous decision: Prison officials may force psychiatric drugs into unwilling inmates.

In 1800 when the Supreme Court moved to Washington, D.C., the honorable justices were so little regarded they were given temporary quarters in the Old Senate Building in an area once used as a janitorial storage room. And for the duration of one full term the United States Supreme Court actually

met in a tavern.

When I consider *Washington vs. Harper*, I'm convinced the court still meets in a tavern.

In 1990, while the country was distracted by flag-burning and its resulting constitutional controversies, the court handed down *Harper*, which went virtually undiscussed in both the electronic and print media.

Walter Harper, an inmate in the Washington State Prison system, was several times sent to the state's Special Offender Cen-

ter, although Harper, convicted of armed robbery, has never been adjudged insane or incompetent. He was forced to take a series of antipsychotic drugs—sometimes call 'psychotropics' or 'neuroleptics'—that included Trialofon, Haldol, Prolixin, Tarcatan, Loxitane and Navane. These drugs serve to alter the brain's chemical balance and often produce serious side effects. One of the most serious of these side effects is tardive dyskinesia, a neurological disorder, irreversible in some cases, and found to have a frequency rate of ten to twenty-five percent.

Tardive dyskinesia, according to a brief submitted to the court by the American Psychiatric Association, is chiefly characterized by uncontrollable movements of facial muscles.

Justice Stevens, dissenting in *Harper*, in part, wrote: "The court has undervalued respondent's liberty interest and has concluded that a mock trial before an institutionally-biased tribunal constitutes 'Due Process' of law...Every violation of a person's bodily integrity is an invasion of his or her liberty. The invasion is particularly intrusive if it creates a substantial risk of permanent injury or premature death."<sup>16</sup>

*Harper* surely destroys the noble concept contained in *Stanley vs. Georgia*: "Our whole constitutional heritage rebels at the thought of giving govern-



ment the power to control men's minds."<sup>17</sup>

The court's provision that only a psychiatrist can order forced medication would be amusing if it were not so dangerous. Prison personnel often employ psychiatric 'medication' in modifying the activity or energy level of inmates deemed 'undesirable'. Prison medical staffs are rarely blessed with humanitarians who choose to work in a prison because they are driven by a need to administer to the planet's poor and pitiful.

They are all too frequently people who possess neither the ability nor initiative to work 'outside' where their performance and efficiency would be subject to close and constant scrutiny.

The court reversed its own ruling in *Vitek vs. Jones* and perfectly conveys the regression of the Rehnquist court. *Vitek* held: "A criminal conviction and sentence of imprisonment extinguish an individual's right to freedom from confinement, but it does not authorize the state to classify him as mentally ill and to subject him to involuntary treatment without affording him additional Due Process protections."<sup>18</sup>

There are two dangers inherent in *Harper*. One is the possibility the ruling may extend far beyond prison walls; to sanitariums, nursing homes and hospitals. Forced drugging of the citizenry is not an impossibility.

The second danger is the door it opens to medical experimentation and experimental 'medical' techniques like aversion therapy, electroconvulsive shock and psychosurgery. Long ago, in an article for the *New York Times*, I warned against experimental research that is often forced on prisoners.<sup>19</sup>

Can one imagine anything more horrible than Orwell's *1984*? Yes. It is a group of American prisoners who have been electrically or drug-conditioned to smile rapturously as pictures of Rehnquist or Jesse Helms are flashed on a screen.

I have known many condemned men in the prisons of California, Louisiana, Arizona and Nevada. I have worked as death row law clerk and I have studied more death transcripts than I care to recall. Like most mortals, the phenomenon of death fascinates me, and I have long considered the legalities of the death penalty.

I oppose capital punishment because

we do not have the capacity to make the death penalty 'fair'—as the Supreme Court deluded itself it could be made 'fair' in *Furman vs. Georgia*.<sup>20</sup> Here 'capacity' is the operable word. In a capitalist society, cash is the colossal catalyst.

If two persons are charged with capital crimes, one wealthy, one poor, the quality of justice immediately changes. The wealthy defendant can post bail, hire the attorney(ies) of his or her choice, retain investigators, employ alienists to testify for the defense, and postpone the trial indefinitely. The indigent defendant will sit in jail, unable to post bail, and will be represented, invariably, by a public defender who is either inexperienced or burdened by a staggering case load. These are the simple concrete conclusions of economics. I am not interested in the trite moralistic arguments advanced for or against capital punishment nor the vacuous veneer of religious rhetoric; I'm a paralegal, not a priest or philosopher.

Lewis E. Lawes, former warden of New York's Sing Sing prison, wrote: "...not only does capital punishment fail in its justifications, but no other punishment could be invented with so many defects. It is an unequal punishment in the way it is applied to the rich and to the poor. The defendant of wealth and position never goes to the electric chair or gallows...."<sup>21</sup>

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, wrote: "It is the poor, the sick, the ignorant, the powerless and the hated who are executed."<sup>22</sup>

In researching a book-in-progress about the history of capital punishment in the U.S.—from the executions of Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn during the Salem Witch Trials of 1691-92 to Ted Bundy's 1989 execution in Florida—I have compiled data on 562 legal executions. I have found but five cases wherein those executed were persons of affluence or influence—and two of these were 'convicted' atom spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Finally, is the Supreme Court itself an unquestionable authority in such a life and death issue? Hardly. The court is in a state of flux; new justices do come and go. It is possible the Rehnquist court will lead us back to the appalling period of Palko.

In 1935 Frank Palko was convicted in a Connecticut court of killing a police

officer. The jury found him guilty of second-degree murder and sentenced him to life in prison. The state, however, was unhappy with the punishment, and the D.A. appealed on errors prejudicial to the prosecution. The Connecticut Court of Error (was there ever a court more aptly named?) agreed and ordered a new trial. Palko objected on the Fifth Amendment's ban of "double jeopardy." Palko had a point. But Palko was retried and this time Palko was sentenced to death. He appealed to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court ruled that Palko was legally sentenced to die because—we ready, folks?—the Fifth Amendment did not apply to the people of the states.

Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo, writing the majority opinion in *Palko*, observed: "The Fifth Amendment is not directed to the states, but solely to the federal government."<sup>23</sup> The Constitution begins, "We the people...." What people? The people of Paraguay?

Frank Palko was eventually executed and thirty-two years later *Palko* was over-ruled in *Benton vs. Maryland* wherein the Warren court declared, "...the double jeopardy clause is fundamental to the American scheme of justice and should apply to the states...in so far as it is inconsistent with this holding, *Palko vs. Connecticut* is overruled."<sup>24</sup>

Frank Palko will be happy to hear that.

## Notes

1. *Ruffin vs. Commonwealth* 62 VA. 790 (1871).
2. *Ex Parte Hull* 61 S. Ct. 640 (1941).
3. *Griffin vs. Illinois* 76 S. Ct. 585 (1956).
4. *Mapp vs. Ohio* 367 U.S. 643 (1961).
5. *Robinson vs. California* 370 U.S. 335 (1963).
6. *Gideon vs. Wainwright* 372 U.S. 335 (1963).
7. *Malloy vs. Hogan* 378 U.S. 1 (1964).
8. *Miranda vs. Arizona* 384 U.S. 436 (1966).
9. *Duncan vs. Louisiana* 391 U.S. 145 (1968).
10. *Johnson vs. Avery* 393 U.S. 483 (1969).
11. *Procunier vs. Martinez* 416 U.S. 396 (1974).
12. *Bounds vs. Smith* 430 U.S. 817 (1977).
13. *Nicholson vs. Choctaw County* 498 F. Supp. 295 (1980).
14. *Turner vs. Safley* 482 U.S. 78 (1987).
15. *Thornburgh vs. Abbott* 109 S. Ct. 1874 (1989).
16. *Washington vs. Harper* 110 S. Ct. 1028 (1990).
17. *Stanley vs. Georgia* 393 U.S. 557 (1969).
18. *Vitek vs. Jones* 445 U.S. 480 (1980).
19. "A Clockwork Orange" by Nick DiSpoldo, *New York Times* Op-Ed Page, June 20, 1974.
20. *Furman vs. Georgia* 408 U.S. 238 (1972).
21. *Life and Death in Sing Sing* by Lewis E. Lawes, pp.155-60.
22. *Crime In America* by Ramsey Clark, 1970.
23. *Palko vs. Connecticut* 58 S. Ct. 149 (1937).
24. *Benton vs. Maryland* 89 S. Ct. 2056 (1969).



# On having one's Research Seized

By David Sonenschein

To my knowledge, Ernest Borneman (1984) is the only one thus far to have made any mention of being arrested in the course of conducting research on children's sexuality or adult-child sexual relationships. Actual arrest of researchers is rare in the history of sexology, although ridicule, harassment, job-loss, and violence have been all too common. Some recently documented examples include that of psychologist John Watson, who was purged from Johns Hopkins for his 'unorthodox' sex research (Magoun, 1981), and of Max Meyer, whose career at the University of Missouri was ruined by academic officials and inflammatory news reports (Esper, 1967; Magoun).

The difficulties experienced by Kinsey and his associates which were brought on by colleagues, legislators, and the press are well known. I have also learned that in the mid-1950s the FBI approached Kinsey wanting him to reveal to them his sources of sexually explicit materials. Kinsey and Wardell Pomeroy resisted, and, in turn, pressed the agency to share its holdings with the Institute for research, causing great indignation at the Bureau. International memos indicate

that the FBI continued to monitor Kinsey's "intrepid band" (as the agency referred to them), particularly because they were afraid the research would lead to an increase in 'permissiveness' and "sexual deviancy." Further, the FBI condemned the Rockefeller Foundation's funding of the Institute, feeling that continued research in Kinsey's direction would corrupt and endanger the nation's children. A May 19, 1959, memo says that the foundations have "a stranglehold on the training ground of youth," but goes on to say that "no better instance of a reputable name being lent to enhance an unsavory cause

can be found than that offered by the Rockefeller Foundation's support of the Kinsey sex studies." The agency was very upset by Kinsey's 'revelation' that sex between adults and children can "contribute favorably to their later sociosexual development."

It appears that 30 years after Kinsey's day, we are again in the midst of a renewed effort to discredit and damage critical sex research. This environment brought Myers (1981) to urge the scientific countering of conservative and religious myths such as those then being promoted through *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* and the *Journal of the*

*American Medical Association*. Constantine and Martinson (1981) warned about the risks of research on children's sexuality, incest, and pedophilia. Baker (1984) called attention to the ongoing flow of religious and pseudo-scientific nonsense, especially the Vatican's pronouncement that masturbation "is a seriously and intrinsically disordered act."

The histories of sex education testify well to this assault. Even though the punitive intervention of the state into sexual populations or artifacts is consistent and almost predictable (Gilbert & Barkun, 1981), and the increasing



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).



"criminalization of sex" (Money, 1985) is an extension of those politics, it has been very easy—even *necessary* from those same political premises—to attack the projects and lives of researchers and educators, especially when they offer newer subject matter, methods, viewpoints, or activism.

At the 1985 Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, Betty Brooks alluded to her 1982 suspension from California State University at Long Beach (CSULB) after being accused of "promoting lesbianism." A more sensational instance at the same time and same university involved Barry Singer, who was suspended and felt pressed to resign amidst charges by the same conservative and religious groups of "promoting homosexuality," "immoral conduct," and "taunting license" (the latter by George Will, 1982). The police-like seizure by CSULB officials of Singer's instructional materials aroused no such indignation, however, on the part of news commentators. Included in the confiscated material was a videotape of one of his lectures, not on sex at all, but one critical of academia and "higher education." Lastly, Roger Libby was denied tenure at the University of Massachusetts allegedly because of the content of his sexuality courses; Richburg (1985) included relevant comments by John Money, Lynn Atwater, Ira Reiss, and Larry Constantine.

Most vulnerable, however, are nonacademics. The numbers of unaffiliated researchers have grown considerably since the late 1960s, and particularly when combined with progressive elements of gay liberation and feminism, thinking and research on gender and sex have had their most original and important sources beyond university endeavors. Such investigators and writers, on the other hand, lack the insulations of professions and institutions that have traditionally helped define credibility and deflect attack. More importantly, as the professions and popular media continually advertise a monolithic view of child-adult sex, accounts that are carefully edited to silence any hint of the professional controversy, the projects of independent workers threaten to produce data severely qualifying or contradicting official views of desire, relationships, and artifacts.

In this regard, there have been a number of arrests and seizures that are

pertinent to the history of sex research and crucial for the issues they raise for all researchers trying to work under erotophobic constraints. In February, 1984, independent researcher Patrick LaFollette was entrapped and arrested by Los Angeles police during the course of his inquiry into child 'pornography' and pedophilia. His defense was based on his right to do research and the misdemeanor charge of exchanging 'pornography' was dismissed (P. LaFollette, personal communication, 1985; Stewart, 1985). Al Katz, a State University of New York law professor, was similarly arrested in May, 1985, and all of his research materials on child 'pornography' have been seized; the case is still in process (A. Katz, personal communication, 1985).

In April, 1985, the personal papers and research files of Gerald Jones were seized by the FBI using an "open warrant," a document of questionable Constitutional validity that allows the seizure of materials deemed seditious or blasphemous by the state without requiring anything other than possession. No charges have been filed against Jones, and as of this writing (mid-1986), his papers are still in the hands of the state. In a total misreading of the situation, Southern California Civil Liberties Counsel Susan McGreivy refused assistance, asserting the Southern California Civil Liberties Union did not "support pedophilia" (G. Jones, personal communication, 1985, 1986). Ironically, it was McGreivy who defended Betty Brooks against charges of "advocating homosexuality." An educational psychologist, Jones is known to sex researchers for his background work on pederasty (Jones, 1982); he is also the first to take legal resistance by filing suit against the FBI and others for violation of his constitutional rights.

In a move with some uncomfortable similarities to the 1933 Nazi raid on Hirschfeld's sexological institute, San Diego police forces seized the entire library of the lay research and educational organization, The Child Sensuality Circle, in June, 1984. It was over half a year before most, though not all, of the nearly 300 books, articles, and other documents on children's liberation were returned. No charges were filed against the group's leader, 84-year-old Valida Davila, a long-time progressive political activist. The news media participated

with police in depicting her Reichian-influenced group as a "sex ring," and police fabricated reports of finding "kiddie porn" in the seizures (V. Davila, personal communication, 1984, 1985).

In January, 1986, Terry Morris, a research psychologist, was arrested and sentenced to 10 years in federal prison for receiving child 'pornography' in the mail during the course of his research; the court has also ordered psychiatric counseling. I know of three other cases of arrest and seizure but cannot detail them because the individuals do not care to be publicly identified.

Finally, in September, 1984, my own 4-year accumulation of research on pedophilia and children's sexuality was seized. At this writing, nearly 2 years later, the materials (including illegally seized legal files and personal and political writings) are still held; it was over 7 months before American Civil Liberties Union lawyers and I were able to inventory the documents. The news media again helped directly in promoting the project as a 'ring', and I was charged with "sexual performance of [sic] a child" for photocopying photographs from commercial "kiddie porn" magazines for content analysis. I have been fined \$5,000 and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

The content analysis was not completed, and the project, an ethnographic study of child-adult sexual relationships, has been destroyed. Fragments will appear if materials are returned; only one historiographic paper has been published (Sonenschein, 1984). Comments by arresting officer Sgt. John Russell may be of interest to other investigators: "Your research is through. Your research is over. I have finished your research for you. You can research anything but this."

These events raise a number of issues in two major areas. One is, of course, the right to do research, to conduct critical inquiry into areas of one's choice, without having that choice defined or restrained by the state. Corollary issues entail having the rights of access to and possession of materials necessary for that research, and the freedom to present publicly documents, findings, and opinions for open consideration. At issue is the right of *any* citizen to inquire into the validity of 'expert' claims, to have access to materials and voices supporting or denying any given



position, and to speak or write critically of official views without fear of arrest or exploitation and abuse by the news media.

More than half-a-dozen states now have laws against the mere possession of visual representations of children and sex, and a similar federal law is now being considered, one which also recommends the legal age of a child be raised from 18 to 21 for such depictions. Some states do have exemptions for research, but the burden of proof, after arrest and seizure, falls upon the investigator. More crucial are the laws which require the reporting of individuals (both the adults and the minors) known or merely suspected of engaging in adult-child sexual activity. There are not now, nor have there ever been, exemptions for researchers, although the ethical guidelines of the professional organizations call for the confidentiality of study participants. Therefore, because of the risks involved

in collecting data and contacting participants, it is imperative that study design in current research on pedophilia, 'pornography', and children's sexuality incorporate adequate protections against seizure and destruction of data by the state. Laws passed in the heat of phobic hysteria, whether against anarchists, communists, Jews, nonwhites, homosexuals, or pedophiles, nearly always violate constitutional protections. Further, these laws tend to stay on the books for use at the state's determination, as have the laws passed a century ago under the tyrannical direction of Anthony Comstock, a familiar figure to sex researchers and educators.

The second general area of concern is more serious. It has to do with professional support and participation in increasing the state's powers of surveillance and control over sexual behavior, representations, and thought. In the relative absence of dissenting voices, such behavior has, again, contributed to



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

a historically continuing breakdown of professional and scientific integrity. I want to mention briefly three ways in which this has been happening while reserving more detailed discussion and documentation for a later work.

The first is perhaps the most astounding and involves the direct and conscious abandonment of science itself. In an article that helped set sexology back 100 years, David Finkelhor (1979) returns research and analysis to an exclusively ideological basis. By asserting his personal belief that children inherently cannot consent to sex with adults, Finkelhor says he deliberately "put the argument on a moral, rather than empirical, footing" (1979, p.695). This opinion is of such a high order that Finkelhor, now a consulting editor for *The Journal of Sex Research*, further insists that any empirical evidence to the contrary is irrelevant and is to be totally discounted.

More incredible that such a statement

could appear in a professional publication in the late 20th century is the fact that not only was so little notice taken of it by way of protest, but that it has come to be accepted as a "scientific fact." An extensive review of data, as well as newer findings, was published later (Constantine & Martinson, 1981), but this and subsequent research has been consistently ignored by researchers, therapists, journalists, and police.

A second professional failure is that personal attack has come to replace scientific debate. The idea that evidence contrary to a position must be discounted is extended into the practice of discrediting those who present conflicting data. Fraser (1981) and Russell (1984) indicate that those who do critical research do so because they have "a self-evident interest." Russell, a featured speaker at the 1985 Society for the Scientific Study of Sex Annual Meeting, also censures those who contest the image of adult-child sex

solely as abuse because she feels the data would "reduce society's inhibitions" against such relationships, a position remarkably similar to that taken by the FBI against Kinsey. Russell, in fact, pejoratively cites Kinsey's term 'contact' as opposed to 'abuse' as an example (1984, p.284).

Like Fraser (1981), Russell (1984) suggests that such people—those discovering the varied and complex range of relationships, including positive and productive ones—are nothing more than "would-be participants" (p.248). These accusations are easily made and accepted now because there is a triple supportive resonance with popular prejudices, with an earlier rhetoric which included terms like 'sympathizer' or "fellow traveler," and with an ongoing institutional inquisition against sexual dissidents by psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and social workers.

Consequences of this ideological position include not only extensive disfigure-



ment of data but the support of a climate tending to suppress critical views. Martinson's early book (1973) was rejected by 29 publishers because of the topic, its findings, or its 'marketability' (F. Martinson, personal communication, 1985). In another example, the editor of the *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* refused for 4 years to publish a solicited article by Edward Brongersma commenting on the cultural scapegoating of pedophiles. The editor indicated the reason was that Brongersma "needed to be protected from criticism." The paper, well received by the World Congress of Law and Psychiatry in 1981, was published only after a co-editor threatened to resign if the invited paper continued to be suppressed (Brongersma, 1984, personal communication, 1985).

The third area of irresponsibility is especially crucial because it involves the direct collaboration of professionals with the state in justifying and expanding its powers of ideological and behavioral control. There is a clear symbiosis between those who selectively provide theory and data for the administrative apparatus and the latter which, in turn, expands to accommodate and encourage an uncritical intensification and physical enforcement of the current science-cum-morality.

Further, there are instances of academics and others who are actively participating with the state in the identification, surveillance, and arrest of pedophiles simply as a class of individuals. I have one report of an investigator passing data and identities to the FBI, an organization famous for its criminal activities and punitive erotophobia (cf. Bullough, 1985). As another example, a book by Ann Burgess (1984), promoted as a scientific study of child 'pornography' and 'sex-rings', includes a chapter by an FBI agent and an appendix on 'fighting' to eliminate sexually explicit material. The political intent of such work is very clear and overriding of any purported scientific affiliation.

These positions are not without historical precedent, and it has been argued that medicine, psychiatry, and sexology have, in fact, been largely oriented toward the rhetorical and surgical promotion of social control. Be that as it may, the 'moral' ideologies mentioned here have supported, if not originated, two major actions which continue to gather

strength and efficiency. They run parallel to contemporary purity movements and a resurgent homophobia as well as relating to the ever-popular sentiments of misogyny and ageism.

One is the most intense anti-sexual terrorist campaign against children since the professionally managed anti-masturbation frenzies of the 19th century; the other is a movement against pedophiles reaching to predatory levels. The former is fairly obvious and easily documented, but the latter is very recent. Now, it is largely out of the hands of researchers and under the guidance of therapeutic and legal agents who, like Finkelhor, consider the matter closed empirically and morally. Ideologically oriented researchers and the news media have provided the scientific and popular authorization the state needs to justify its moves toward arrest and detention of individuals on the basis of sexual interest alone. There was in late 1985 and early 1986 similar planning for 'irresponsible' gays triggered by the AIDS issues. I have not yet seen the transcripts of the November, 1985 Miami hearings of the Meese Pornography Commission, but reports forwarded to me by observers indicate that it was a strategy session for prosecutors and police rather than fact-finding on pedophilia. The phrase "pre-disposed to crime"—a delightful essentialist expression—was added to the forensic inventory of what pedophiles are supposed to be like, and one prosecutor claimed to have a list of 5,000 pedophiles, apparently awaiting passage of appropriate laws to begin arrests. Beyond sexual interest, Bullough (1985) has documented the outrageous instance of his being targeted for arrest and detention by the FBI ("in case of national emergency") because he had the double stigma of being a sex researcher and a rights activist for sexual minorities.

At the 1985 Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, I heard one young professional while speaking of pedophilia remark, "It's a shame such populations have to exist." The phrasing of the sentiment is rather striking. Clearly, some are doing what they can to find a solution to "the pedophile question," a solution which also seems to call for the erasure of data and researchers at variance with the state's purposes.

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# David & Goliath and crime in America

By Ben Satterfield

**F**or years Hollywood has presented a version of the David and Goliath myth—decking it out anew every season, but it is changing like Dr. Jekyll, and right before our eyes. In the thirties, Frank Capra's simplistic *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* fit the nation's bill perfectly with its affirmation of the good individual's triumph over the corrupt machine. This black and white view was reassuring to a nation desperately in need of hope and comfort, gripped as it was by forces beyond its control or understanding. In the past two decades, however, the triumphant 'hero' has appeared most often as a criminal, in films such as *The Great Train Robbery*, *Charlie Varrick*, *Thunderbolt and Lightfoot*, *The Getaway*, *Superfly*, and *The Pursuit of D.B. Cooper*. These are our modern Davids, tainted all, misfits who are interested only in getting something for themselves from Goliath, not in overcoming the giant—that is understood to be patently impossible.

Whether in movies or books, any David and Goliath story is likely to be popular in a nation of nearly a quarter of a billion people who are caught—at least most of them—in a social and economic trap from which it is virtually impossible to escape. This lack of power, control, and essential meaning is reflected by the trend in the modern novel toward protagonists that are more acted upon than acting. Our lives are made oppressive and puppet-like by big government, big business, rapacious institutions—all the leviathan elements that batten on us and shape our existence. (The uncontrollable scourges of inflation and recession, not to mention acid rain, poisoned food and water, toxic waste, oil spills or nuclear radiation, serve as painful reminders of just how little control we have; in fiction, John Sayle's *Union Dues* does the same thing—as *Grapes of Wrath*, *The Jungle*, and other novels did earlier.) We are—however reluctantly—dependent upon Goliath, and we cannot fell him; we can only hope to put something over on him.

Therefore, a book such as *The Programmer* provides a vicarious pleasure and comfort for the reader in its high-spirited depiction of one man's successful use of a computer—the very emblem and device of control—against the giant conglomerates for personal gain and redistribution of wealth. (Many fictional characters, major and minor, share a desire to use whatever sword they have against the corporate dragon whether or not they ever muster

the courage to act. *Not a Through Street* mentions a “guy who worked for the phone company,” another disaffected worker who “was a quiet subversive. He wanted to sabotage the system, and his enemy was his employer.” Apparently, corporations are breeding widespread resentment within and without as golden chains are recognized to be chains all the same.)

But the unembellished truth is that very few “beat the system”; those who maintain power are usually invincible, whether within a structure of economics, government, or organized crime, as realistically illustrated in grimmer novels such as *Dog Soldiers*, *Cutter and Bone*, *The Man Who Won the Medal of Honor*, *Made in America*, and *Beyond Control*. In these very different fictions of the past fifteen years, average people like you and me (admittedly demoralized and without faith) are destroyed by the modern Goliath, represented by those who have power, all of whom are portrayed as evil. Many earlier books, including the well-known *Cool Hand Luke*, the naturalistic *The Man with the Golden Arm*, and the unsparing *Johnny Got His Gun*, make the same thematic point. In spy novels such as *In the Secret State* good but fallible men are wiped out when they start to uncover the corruption at the head of power, and this same pattern is repeated in numerous crime novels.

Our current David, in keeping with the times, is changed. He is, generally ineffective, powerless, often in bondage, and he is no longer pure. Contaminated by the subtlety of twentieth-century pollution, he—or she, I should add, because the role David serves is not dependent upon gender, as the movies *Frances* and *Silkwood* demonstrate—is most often presented as an impotent gadfly buzzing the armored flanks of the most immense and virulent Goliath imaginable. Such a presentation seems to be an accurate portrayal of reality, for in this era of megabucks and multinationals, what chance does an individual—even an unflawed one—have against, for instance, ITT? Only rarely is the protagonist of a serious novel so far above average that he can approximately be labeled a hero—Alexander Panagoulis of *A Man* is the example *ne plus supra*, but this noble recusant is quashed just the same by “the whale of evil,” by the “filthy assassins who live on the alibis of law and order,” by the “eternal Power that never dies.”

"In the  
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By Mark Neville (POB 3187, Fremont, CA. 94539-0318).

In Francis Ford Coppola's *The Conversation*, one determined (and tarnished) individual is able to uncover a conspiracy, but his opposition to it is futile because the conspirators have an impenetrable shield of corporate power. And despite his fearsome and obdurate violence, the anachronistic 'hero' of *Point Blank* (symbolically named 'Walker') is powerless to affect the organization that operates through a complicated system of technology to which he makes little or no difference in his rampage for 'justice'. In today's complex, highly organized world, David cannot get a shot at Goliath, much less bring him down.

To be sure, realism is not the most comforting mode, as films from the thirties to the eighties (including *Breaker Morant*, *Lonely Are the Brave*, *High Sierra*, *I Want to Live*, *Medium Cool*, *Missing*, *Paths of Glory*, *Salvador*, *Serpico*, *Under Fire*, *You Only Live Once*, and *Z*) testify. Probably the darkest of the modern realistic David and Goliath movies, outside the greatly compromised *Cutter's Way*, is Alan J. Pakula's *The Parallax View*. The quester for truth in this film is murdered by the conspiratorial forces of an organization so powerful and so cynical

in its utter corruption that it turns truth completely around as it squashes an annoyance—David.

We live in a time of the most sordid cover-ups, conspiracies, and plots devised not only by our mammoth government and its formidable agencies, the FBI and CIA<sup>1</sup>, but also by monolithic corporations whose very size makes them impervious to morality. For the modern Goliath, nothing is *ultra vires*, and we feel helpless in the face of such enormous power. Our heroes necessarily have to be criminals because in our age of conformity and accommodation, these are the only people who aren't working for Goliath.

I always read the story of David and Goliath as a parable. David was good and Goliath was bad. Today Goliath is still bad, but David isn't much better, mired down as he usually is in moral ambiguity, like the hero in *Prince of the City* (or the main characters in *True Confessions* or Clark Howard's *Mark the Sparrow*), and he never vanquishes Goliath; any 'victory' is qualified, Pyrrhic at best, and seldom even that. The biblical story may be archetypal, but if so, it has undergone a radical metamorphosis in our time.

**"Our heroes necessarily have to be criminals because in our age of conformity and accommodation, these are the only people who aren't working for Goliath."**



By and large, the crime movie fits a version of the capitalistic myth known as the American Dream (a good early example is 1947's *The Gangster*, but Brian dePalma's 1984 version of *Scarface* is perfect). The criminal wants to achieve, to be a big shot, to have money and all the accouterments of success. He goes about fulfilling his ambition of material wealth in openly illegal and often violent ways, but his methods are consistent with the lessons of American history: take by stealth, trickery, or force, but *take* what you want; let the meek inherit what's left. Gangsters, like robber barons, are nearly always presented as lurid capitalists, the crime syndicate is shown to be very much like the modern corporation, and to a great extent crime is equated with contemporary life. Many of the movies seem to insist that as Americans we cannot be free from corruption.<sup>2</sup> ("The history of crime in America is quite simply the history of America," says Carl Sifakis in his introduction to *The Encyclopedia of American Crime*.)

Since American culture in general is founded on business principles and crime czars are successful capitalists, it is logical for the shrewd criminal to follow the example set by the pragmatic businessman and the modern corporation, providing as they do perfect role models. David Thoreau in *The Satanic Condition* explains that one of his characters "had been a smuggler long before he became a businessman and it continually amazed him how much easier smuggling became once he learned legitimate business practices."

"My rackets are run on strictly American lines," bragged Al Capone, a fervent believer in capitalism, which, as he perceived it, "gives all of us a great opportunity if we seize it with both hands and hang on to it." When one of the marginally honest characters in Abraham Polonsky's *Force of Evil* says to a man attempting to syndicate the numbers racket that he doesn't want anything to do with gangsters, the man replies: "Whadda you mean, gangsters? This is business." And *business* is either the shibboleth or talisman of the crime world in dozens of motion pictures and scores of books. A polyester-type goon, who is concerned with the appearance of propriety and manipulating the system to his advantage, in Jonathan Valin's *Day of Wrath* explains to the protagonist,

"This is America. We're businessmen." In *Hard Trade*, Arthur Lyons presents an unscrupulous multimillionaire tycoon who is a master manipulator responsible for a unbounded swarm of nefarious activities including murder: "We are businessmen," he tells the narrator, "not gangsters." Meyer Lansky's prediction that organized crime and big business would blend together inseparably appears to have been an accurate one.

Francis Ford Coppola's *Godfather* epic clearly shows that corporations outside the law operate the same way as those within the law and that systematic crime is characteristic of America's heritage. "Organized crime," said Raymond Chandler in *The Long Goodbye*, "is just the dirty side of the sharp dollar." The sociologist Daniel Bell in "Crime as an American Way of Life" makes essentially the same point:

"As a society changes, so does, in lagging fashion, its type of crime. As American society became more 'organized,' as the American businessman became more 'civilized' and less 'buccaneering,' so did the American racketeer. And just as there were important changes in the structure of business enterprise, so the 'institutionalized' criminal enterprise was transformed too."

In motion pictures as in life, bigwigs of crime are far removed from its actuality and they affect the trappings of respectability. The criminal and the businessman are the same in a long line of movies from *Bullets or Ballots* (1936), *Force of Evil* (1948), *The Big Heat* (1953) and *The Big Combo* (1955) on through *The Killers* (1964) and *Point Blank* (1967) to the *Godfather* pictures of the seventies and this decade's *Thief*, *Rollover*, and *The Long Good Friday*, to mention only a few representative examples. Some of these pictures have been extremely popular; in fact, *The Godfather* is the third biggest money maker in American film history, which means it's the most successful gangster film in the world, and part of the reason for its enormous success is its skillful exploitation of the American Dream: the *Godfather* epic dramatically and metaphorically tells the story of our country. "Michael is America," says director Coppola, who managed to make his conception vivid to millions of moviegoers. The success of *The Godfather* and *Godfather II*, claims Jack Shadoian in *Dreams and Dead Ends*, "lies in their intuitive grasp that

there is a profound mood of uselessness in the audience that is ready to be exploited and sharpened to a point of pleasure." Another film critic, Eugene Rosow in *Born to Lose*, states that American culture is "beset by a general and overwhelming malaise" that plays a part in its fascination with gangster films. Ergo, it seems, the popularity of Coppola's family-crime saga is also due to a feeling of dissatisfaction in the audience, an unarticulated frustration that I believe is a direct result of disillusionment with the Dream. That mainstream of America is beginning to perceive, dimly, its own insignificance in a scheme of feculent materialism.

Is it any wonder David has changed?

## Notes

1. The basic function of the CIA, according to former agent Philip Agee, is not the protection of national security but the removal of obstacles to the economic command of multinational corporations. Agee's ponderous but fascinating *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* documents the sordid activities of this agency over a period of years. Some of the CIA's more recent nefarious activities are exposed in Jonathan Kwitny's *The Crimes of Patriots* and Leslie Cockburn's *Out of Control*, both published in 1987.

2. Perhaps the reason is that business in general is corrupt: for a carefully documented indictment of "the corporate-political money-power game" see Ovid Demaris' *Dirty Business*. "The Romance of Crime" is the title of a chapter in *Money and Class in America*, in which Lewis H. Lapham says "that even a cursory reading of the newspapers would incline a fair-minded reader to confuse the arts of crime with national policy and standard business procedure." See also *Den of Thieves* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991) by James B. Stewart, an editor of *The Wall Street Journal*.

### ANet/@ Media Net/Anarchist Media Network/@Net/Anarchist Network

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# Drug Related Crime Who is to blame?

By Bill Killion

I am a 35-year-old white male from a white-collar family. I'm educated, well balanced and rational, healthy, and intelligent. I am also a "drug addict" who has been 'abusing' so-called "hard drugs" such as morphine, heroin and cocaine for the last 18 years.

Presently, I am serving a 63-month prison sentence at the Federal Correctional Institution located in Fort Worth, Texas, the result of a drug manufacturing and trafficking conviction. I have 33 months remaining on my sentence. This is my fifth trip to prison because of my involvement with drugs.

At this point you may be asking, "Well, have you learned anything of value from your incarceration, and do you plan to abstain from drugs when you are released?" My answer to those questions are yes and no, respectively.

What I have learned is that the American people are largely misinformed in reference to drugs, crime, and the war on drugs. This is due in the most part from their being brainwashed and duped with hype and propaganda by government officials who have a vested interest in keeping drugs illegal. The government blames as many of society's problems as possible, particularly crime, on drugs and drug addicts in order to keep the voting public's opinion swayed against drugs so the government can continue to keep drugs illegal because the illegal drug trade and its consequences are big business for the big government.

Anyone who thinks otherwise had best wake up and take a real good look around. Do you really think that the government cares if some drug addict murders you out of desperation to get money to pay the high price for his drugs that the illegal status of drugs continues to inflate more with each passing day? Think about it. Your untimely death from so-called "drug-related violence" helps them greatly in many ways. For example, it:

- 1) Makes available, inheritance tax for the government.
- 2) Opens a job slot for one of the previously unemployed.

3) Decreases the population.

4) Adds one more false "drugs create violent crime" statistic to their war on drugs hype.

5) Helps the government justify its hiring of more law enforcement workers.

6) Adds to the conservative U.S. Supreme Court's excuse for putting greater adverse restrictions on our constitutional rights, which they gladly do in furtherance of their conspiracy to implement a total police-state in our country.

7) Generates income for numerous individuals and businesses including your local ambulance service, hospital, funeral parlor, casket company, cemetery, florist, attorney, etc., and all their employees.

Any American of moderate intelligence should be able to see through all of this bureaucratic war on drugs B.S., and many do. But the majority of society does not see through it because we have been systematically conditioned from birth to believe that our government is some wise, all-knowing, omnipotent body who can do no wrong—a power whose judgment and action we should not question.

Concerning my future abstinence from drugs upon being released from prison—not a chance. I have been drug-free during these first two years of my incarceration and will remain drug-free until released, but only because using drugs in prison is too much of a hassle due to being in close quarters with an 85% population of eager stool-pigeons. However, I look forward to being able to exercise my personal choice to use drugs again after being released, regardless of the current penalty. Over 99% of the drug-related prisoners feel the way I do.

When I use drugs, I don't have to worry about smelling like regurgitated alcohol, driving recklessly and killing an innocent driver, passenger or pedestrian, or losing my temper and behaving like an ass, and I don't have to wake up in the afternoon from a night out, wondering what all kinds of horribly embarrassing antics or quasi-criminal acts I may have carried out. Can any of you alco-

holic beverage fans out there say the same? Not if you're honest.

Drugs do not cause crime, the *illegal* status of drugs causes all of the so-called "drug-related crime." Prior to the enactment of the Harrison Act in the early part of this century, which was the first real attempt to control drugs, we didn't have drug-turf wars or drive by shootings. Nor did we have people committing thefts, burglaries, robberies and murders in order to obtain drugs, or money for drugs. It is an obvious and proven fact that so-called "drug-related crime" decreases and increases in direct proportion to the illicit drug price index, which in turn decreases or increases in direct proportion to the current severity of punishment being meted out to drug traffickers by the government for controlled substance violations.

If you want more "drug crime" in terms of both quantity and severity, then by all means keep pushing for tougher drug laws, and don't let the fact that your taxes will have to be continually increased to pay for all of the new prisons, guards, police, prosecutors and judges stand in your way.

Keep in mind that there is absolutely no chance of winning the war on drugs. Congress and the General Accounting Office have admitted as much; any sane person knows it. America could build prisons until they run out of bricks and bars and still there would be no foreseeable victory in the war on drugs.

As a closing thought, I, myself, am living proof that prison is not a deterrent to drug trafficking or drug abuse, nor will it ever be, no matter how lengthy the prison sentences become. Perhaps you may think my viewpoint is one of the prisoner minority? Don't bet on it. I've met thousands of drug traffickers and addicts in my life and I've never seen one go straight because he/she was worried about prison. The only feasible solution to the "drug-related crime," which is all caused by the *illegal* status of drugs, is to end drug prohibition to remove the *illicit* profit margin.



From Gulf War to Class War:

# We All Hate the Cops

By Max Anger

*"There's a difference between frustration with the law and direct assaults upon our legal system."*

George Bush, May 3, 1992

## Sing, Goddess, the Anger...

**R**umor has it that the first rocks started to fly as the four cops who beat Rodney King and the jury who acquitted them were leaving the courtroom in suburban Simi Valley. Subsequent to the acquittals of the cops, on the afternoon of April 29th, thousands of people began pouring into the streets of Los Angeles. In a few hours rioting spread across the L.A. metropolitan area. Conditions rapidly approached the level of civil war. The police withdrew from the main areas of the fighting, ceding the streets to the insurgent poor. Systematic burnings of capitalist enterprises commenced. More than 5,500 buildings burned. People shot at cops on the street and at media and police helicopters. Seventeen government buildings were destroyed. The Los Angeles Times Building was attacked and partially looted. A vast canopy of smoke from the burnings covered the L.A. basin. Flights out of Los Angeles International Airport were canceled and incoming flights had to be diverted due to the smoke and sniper fire.

Following the lead of events in the nation's cultural capital, mass spontaneous rioting spread to several dozen cities across the United States. The rioting was the single most violent episode of social unrest in the United States in the twentieth century, far outstripping the urban revolts of the 1960s both in its sheer destructiveness and in the fact that the April-May riots were a multiracial revolt of the poor. As Willie Brown, a prominent Democratic Party politician in the California State Assembly (and no friend of the class war) put it, in the *San Francisco Examiner*: "For the first time in American history, many of the demonstrations, and much of the violence and crime, especially the looting were multiracial—blacks, whites, Hispanics and Asians were all involved."

In the initial phase of the riots, the police were rapidly overwhelmed and retreated, and the military did not appear until the rioting had abated. Some rioters with megaphones tried to turn the uprising into a war against the rich in the places where they live. "We should burn down their neighborhoods, not ours. We're going to take it to Hollywood and Beverly Hills," shouted a man with a megaphone according to the *London Independent* (May 2, 1992).

Two blocks from the mansions of the rich, burnt-out stores testify to how close the riot came to attacking the enemy class in their own homes.

"On Sunset Boulevard on Thursday evening, I watched children with mobile phones coordinate the movements of

their gangs with the arrival of police and fire trucks, warning looters when police were on their way." (*London Guardian*, May 2, 1992)

## Tonight We're Gonna Party Like It's 1999...

*"The rebellion was community. It was liberation."*—a woman from South Central Los Angeles.

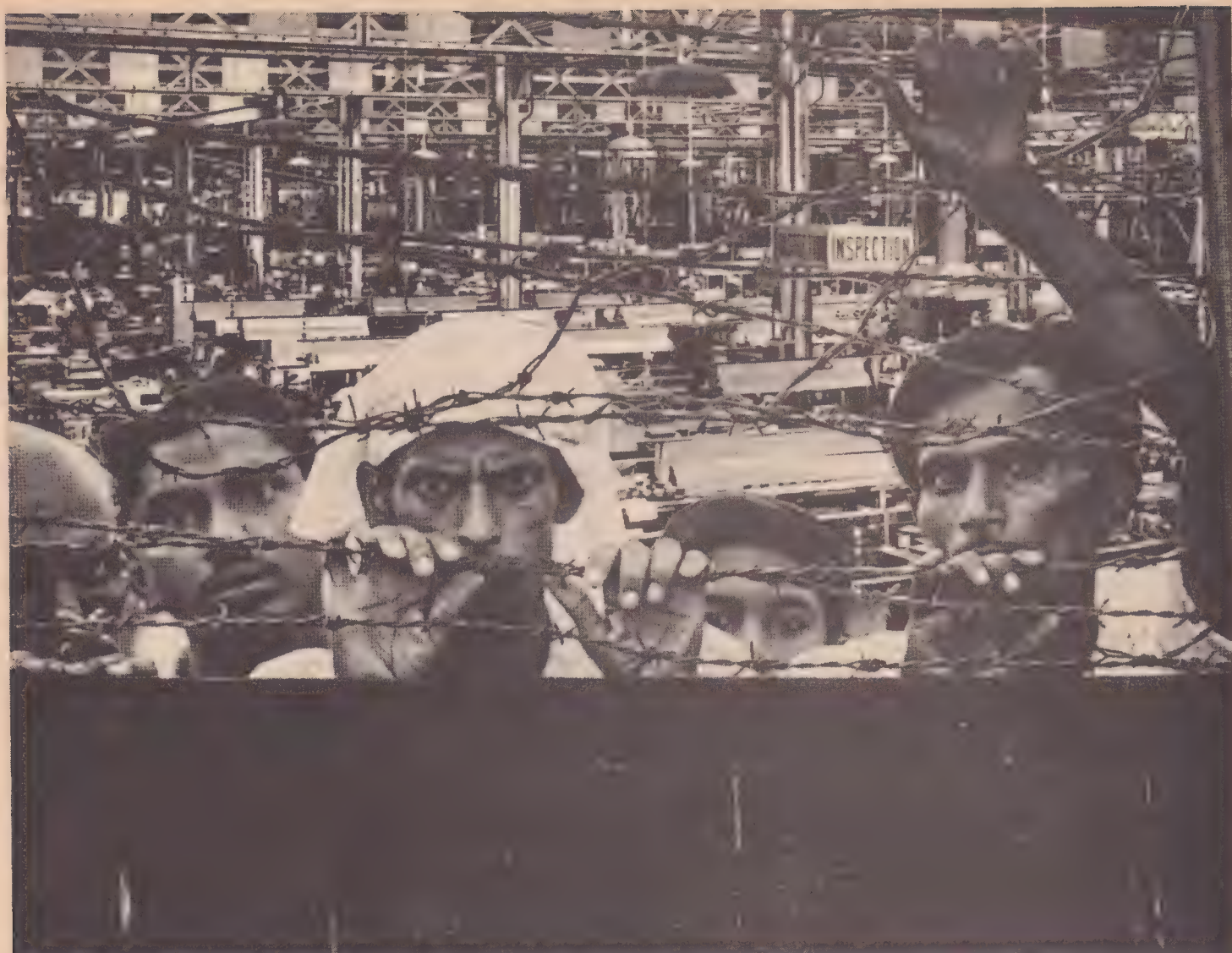
Several people involved in writing this article attempted to find out what happened first-hand and what has happened since. This is some of the information we got from our few contacts in the L.A. area. The rebellion started among black people, spread immediately to involve Latinos in South Central (which is about 42 percent Latino) and Pico Union, and then brought in unemployed white workers from Hollywood in the north to Long Beach in the south and Venice in the west. East L.A. was spared only because of a massive show of force by the L.A. Sheriff's Department.

Everybody came out onto the streets. There was an unprecedented feeling of togetherness. Liquor stores were looted. Before the stores were torched, people got out hoses to defend their houses against the danger of spreading fires. Old people were evacuated. It was a family occasion. Carloads of people turned up at a clothing factory, and men, women and children loaded up and drove off. There were two days of continuous looting involving thousands of people, mostly black and Latino, with white people involved as well. The police were nowhere to be seen.

"There were no arrests in my area," one woman we talked to said. Essential items were redistributed, otherwise some people would have had nothing. As far as the beating of truck driver Reginald Denny goes, some of the people who beat him had just defended a 15-year-old against being beaten by the police. This is, of course, not being mentioned in the media.

Harry Cleaver noted, in an article signed May 1st: "Remarkable in the dynamics of the rebellions has been the failure of the forces of mediation. When the verdict came in on the night of Wednesday the 29th, every respectable 'community leader' in Los Angeles, from the black former policeman Mayor Bradley on down, strove to avert rebellion by channeling anger into manageable channels. Meetings in churches were organized, passionate gospel speeches were mixed with equally impassioned speeches of outrage—all designed to permit a powerless, cathartic venting of emotion. At the biggest meeting, covered by network television, the desperate mayor went so far as to make an explicit plea for no action. Just as good business trade unions see their primary job as





Collage by Freddie Baer (San Francisco, CA.).

imposing the contract and maintaining labor peace, so did the good community leaders see theirs as the maintenance of order."

Happily they failed. The May 1st issue of the *New York Times*, which styles itself as the paper of record of the U.S. ruling class, noted with alarm:

"Some areas took on the atmosphere of a street party as black, white, Hispanic and Asian residents mingled to share in a carnival of looting. As the greatly outnumbered police looked on, people of all ages (and genders), some carrying small children, wandered in and out of supermarkets with shopping bags and armloads of shoes, liquor, radios, groceries, wigs, auto parts, gumball machines and guns. Some stood patiently in line to wait their turn." The corporate-liberal humor magazine *Spy* noted that when people drove into a Von's parking lot to loot the supermarket they left the handicapped parking spaces open.

A one-shot anarcho-publication out of Minneapolis lampooning the layout of *USA Today* called *L.A. Today* ("Tomorrow...The World") reported "...they're celebrating in L.A. ...." One observer in L.A. exclaimed, "These people aren't like looters. They're like game show winners." One woman cried

gleefully as she carted off clothes from a looted store, "This is bargain basement! Bargain basement!" One reporter solemnly noted that, during the protests against the Gulf War, cases of drunk or stoned revellers were the exception, but "it was the norm last night."

In looting, the proletariat's "temporary mass suppression of market relations," Harry Cleaver noted the creation of "...new laws (sic) of distribution and a new kind of moneyless order in which vast quantities of wealth are being, very quickly, transferred from the businesses which have to those who do not. Beyond such direct appropriation, however, we must also see the political statement behind the burnings: the demand for the end of the institutions of exploitation themselves...the rupture of the mercantile circuits of capitalist society is a political blow to its lifeblood."

The 30,000-square-foot military enlistment center for all nine counties of Southern California was burned to the ground on the first night. The image of the riots, and of riots in general, pedalled by the enemies of revolt is a lie. This lie portrays rioting as an episode of indiscriminate mayhem where rioters attack each other like sharks in a feeding frenzy. Crimes against people, such as rape and drive-by shootings, virtually



disappeared as previously atomized proletarians of different colors and ethnicities came together in mass collective violence, "proletarian shopping" and a potlatch of destruction. There were far fewer rapes and muggings during the period of the riots than there are in Los Angeles under the normal rule of law.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, young men who've spent their entire lives unable to visit the next street because the street lies within another gang's territory can now do so. A woman told us that after the riots, "As a woman, I feel much safer on the streets." Welfare mothers from four different areas have come together to fight impending welfare cuts. This is a remarkable new development. When these women demonstrate outside welfare offices, the ruling class knows that behind them stand well over 100,000 veterans of the riots. On a conservative estimate, more than 100,000 rebel poor in the greater Los Angeles area have now collectively experienced, in arson, looting and violence against the police, the intelligent collective use of violence as a political weapon: "What is happiness? The feeling that power increases, that a resistance is being overcome." (Nietzsche, *The Antichrist*)

The number of people who participated in the uprising is well into the six-figure range. We know this because there were around 11,000 arrests (5,000 blacks, 5,500 Latinos, 600 whites), and the vast majority of rioters and looters were able to get away scot-free.

The political significance of the L.A. uprising can perhaps best be gauged by comparing the riot in San Francisco, which was the second biggest in the country (or possibly third, behind the armed actions in Las Vegas). If this riot had happened without any uprising in L.A., it would have been by far the most important riot in California since the 1960s. But the L.A. uprising put it completely in the shade.

In San Francisco, on April 30th, more than a hundred stores were looted and trashed in the downtown area of Market Street. Many of the yuppie shops in the Financial District were trashed, and the rich scumbag lair of Nob Hill was invaded and cars smashed up. One of the large posh hotels had its windows smashed by a gang of youths chanting "The rich must die." Reminiscent of our local resistance to the Persian Gulf War, protesters from the East Bay marched onto the Interstate 80 freeway and occupied the Bay Bridge, causing a massive Bay-Area-wide traffic jam affecting several hundred thousand automobile commuters. This was a commendably intelligent tactical use of the spatial dynamics of automobile urbanism imposed by capitalism as a weapon against capital. These actions were echoed across the bay in street rioting and looting on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley, where riots have broken out between one and three times a year for the past three years.

In San Jose, students looted and attacked police cruisers with rocks and bottles. Traffic was stopped in San Diego along Interstate 5 by protesters for two hours. Police were shot at by youths rioting in Tampa, Florida, and in Las Vegas, armed rioters burned a state parole and probation office and shot at police, who just managed to save the casino area from the anger of the mob. Armed confrontations between police and local people continued in Las Vegas for the next 18 days. In Seattle, a burning vehicle was pushed into police ranks, the Interstate 5 freeway was closed for 2 hours, and there were loads of looting, smashing and burning in downtown Seattle.

Similar events occurred in Atlanta, where tear gas failed to stop the rioters. In Rochester, New York, a curfew was imposed after a cop car was flipped over. Leftists tried to stop looting and openly allied themselves with the police at the demo in Minneapolis. There were smaller riots in Riverside, California, Denver, Miami, and Peoria and Springfield, Illinois. Riots broke out in various locations in Maryland, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas and Alabama. At a march of 1,000 people in New Brunswick on May 1st, a truck driver plowed through a crowd, but retreated as an angry mob quickly materialized. It is possible that the attack on the truck driver in L.A. was sparked by a similar provocation.

In spite of a very small number of atypical and stupid racist incidents, the riots have been for the most part an overwhelmingly affirmative series of events, explicitly anti-police upheavals leading in the areas of the revolt's dominion to a widespread temporary overthrow in market relations and a crack in the totalitarian reality of contemporary America. The riots have been an explosive reemergence of class warfare in the United States on a scale surpassing the heroic revolts of the 1965-71 period. The recent riots were more racially mixed than the urban uprisings of that period and were a reaffirmation of the war between social classes. The war between the rich and the mass of exploited and dispossessed of all colors is the central issue of our time.

The wave of revolt on the part of the poor is a decisive interruption of our rulers' triumphant propaganda—following the fall of their main imperialist rival in the former U.S.S.R., and their defeat of former client states in Panama and Iraq—that humanity as a species has reached "the end of history," and that democracy and the market are the final and inevitable end-point of human evolution.

Until the uprising, under the law in California the state had to arraign suspects within 72 hours of arrest or let them go. The California State Assembly voted unanimously to 'temporarily' extend the arraignment period. The bill was flown on a National Guard airplane to be signed by State Supreme Court Justice Malcolm Lucas. This is the epitome of democracy in action. In a democracy, the ruling class and their hired orchestras of lackeys brag that the difference between a democracy and a more open form of despotism is that under a democracy there are rules that limit the degree to which our rulers can screw us. When the rules don't work, they change the rules.

## Sects, Lies, and Videotape...

Listening to the radio coverage and reading the newspapers during the period of the revolt, it was clear that our enemy the media was completely floored by the abrupt and widespread nature of the uprising. But what was most disorienting and terrifying to the media lackeys of the ruling class was the multiracial nature of the uprising. News photos consistently showed people of all colors in the streets. For fifty years, one of the core constructs of democratic capitalist ideology in the United States has been the massive and wholesale denial that this is a class society.

The revolt, at least temporarily, overthrew 50 years worth of democratic ideology. Now that the smoke has cleared, the media and many of their loyal lackeys on the left, are attempting to place a different spin on the events, with Judeo-Chris-





*Collage by Freddie Baer (San Francisco, CA.).*

tian victim-morality and ahistorical humanism as a prophylactic for the battered social contract and its protective friend, the rule of law. But, during the days in which the uprising unfolded it's clear that our rulers' media hirelings were conceptually overwhelmed by the enormity of the events.

During the revolt, the media creeps latched onto the video footage of the beating of a white truck driver, Reginald Denny, rebroadcasting footage of this largely atypical incident hundreds of times in order to tar the revolt with the stigma of a race riot. The subsequent rescue of Denny by several black people was not shown quite as often. Towards the end of the

riots, the people who rescued Denny, naively, crassly or stupidly accepted awards for their rescue from representatives of the local business classes. This allowed their aid of the injured man to be deputized by the local commercial classes in their effort to assert proprietorship over 'humanitarian' acts, and by implication, indicting the riots as a completely psychotic episode or pogrom. This quick and cunning public relations coup on the part of the rich and the media is understandable, coming from the region that specializes in exporting spectacle and aerospace to the rest of the world.

Lootings and burnings of enterprises owned by Korean shopkeepers were described as being "racially motivated" in the bourgeois media. Some rioters described these enterprises as being "parasitic on the community." Unfortunately, many enterprises were spared simply because they were owned or managed by black merchants, or because they employed black wage-workers, as in the case of a MacDonald's. Another way of seeing this is as an aspect of the class war subsumed, unfortunately, under the rubric of race, a situation where urban wage workers and poor people who happen to be black are screwed over by shopkeepers who happen to be Korean. The United States is a profoundly racist society. Fifty years of totalitarian disinformation by the corporate media has attempted to bury a consciousness of class among the poor and has largely succeeded in dividing the working class along racial lines. Some rioters expressed their hatred of being ripped off in racial terms.

The media have been burying analysis of the riots under a superficial examination of racism in the United States. In part, this specious wallow in corporate humanism aims at obscuring the dangerous social questions suggested by a nationwide multiracial uprising of the poor.

By reducing the riots to a question of race relations between 'blacks' as such and 'whites' as such, the media, especially the liberals and leftists, attempt to obscure the multiracial reality of the rioting and portray the riots as the exclusive domain of "black criminals." Working class and poor whites, no matter how impoverished or exploited they are, and regardless of the violence they offered to the cops and commodity relations, are identified in this propaganda scheme with rich whites on the basis of skin color alone.

Some enterprises owned by black capitalists were burned as well. U.C. Berkeley sociologist Harry Edwards, in a radio



interview broadcast on May 6th, made the point that some wage-workers set fire to the enterprises that employed them. However, some stores and businesses were not attacked, because if every enterprise had been destroyed the neighborhood would have been left without grocery stores or restaurants.

What needs to be made clear here is that we are not liberals and we are not racists: we are not sorry that enterprises belonging to merchants and bosses of any color or ethnicity were looted or burned, but that rioters attacked these targets and spared others, mystified in seeing their class enemies in racist terms.

The recent nationwide rioting, like other riots in the past ten years, demonstrates clearly that the most realistic, practical, immediate way for working class and poor people to overcome internalized racism and racial divisions among themselves is found in a common violent fight against our mutual enemies—the cops, the business classes, the rich and the market economy.

On May 2nd, 5,000 LAPD, 1,000 Sheriff's Deputies, 950 County Marshals and 2,300 Highway Patrol cops accompanied by 9,975 National Guard troops, 3,300 Army troops and Marines with armored vehicles and 1,000 Federal Marshals, FBI agents and Border Patrol SWAT teams moved in to restore order and guard the shopping malls. Hundreds of people were wounded. Most of the people killed in the uprising were killed in the repression of the revolt, and most of them weren't participants in the revolt. The dead were mostly bystanders murdered by the police. In Compton, two Samoan men who were kneeling on the ground while being arrested were murdered by the cops. The police are also desperately trying to undermine the gang truce. They need the working class of South Central to start shooting each other again.

In the Mao-oid *Revolutionary Worker* an older woman was quoted as saying to some young people, "You should stop killing each other and start killing those motherfuckers," nodding towards the police.

In Los Angeles more than 12,000 people were arrested, the largest mass arrest in the history of the United States. Insurance adjusters are rating the L.A. riots as the fifth largest 'disaster' in U.S. history measured in insurance claims.

Defense campaigns are in a terrible state. There is no coordinated campaign to defend all the arrested. What little organized defense there is is concerned only with individual defendants, or particular aspects of repression, e.g. racism. Liberal lawyers have refused to defend looters. In San Francisco, the District Attorney Arlo Smith is intent on riding the backs of prosecuted looters into statewide elected office, and is pushing for state prison time for people found in possession of as little as a handful of T-shirts. Efforts to aid the imprisoned rebels have to be gotten together immediately, by making their names and the charges they face as widely known as possible, organizing benefit concerts to raise money to pay lawyers, etc.

## Defense of the Indicted L.A. Four

The arrests of four black men in the beating of the white truck driver Reginald Denny is in part an attempt to reestablish a racial division of the urban poor that was ruptured or

threatened by the revolt. It is an attempt to unite everyone appalled by "senseless mayhem" behind the state, and more insidiously an attempt to provoke more racially motivated attacks. Fear of such attacks will be used to justify the coming repressive measures. On a more positive note, we may be able to look forward to another massive social explosion the day that the convictions are handed down.

The men charged with the beating of Reginald Denny during the L.A. riot must be supported.<sup>1</sup> A defense attorney claims that Denny had taunted the black men involved, that Denny shouted out that the cops who beat Rodney King were not guilty. Obviously, we don't know whether this is true or not. We have to support Damian Williams and the other three defendants, because a successful prosecution would effectively tar all the insurgents with the brush of racist brutality: a cunning move on the part of the American justice system. The prosecutions are an effort to stigmatize the riots, not as a massive reassertion of class and community, but as a series of racist attacks, a mass outbreak of suburbanites' worst fears.

In the most radical and coherent episodes of the class war there have always been, and will be, ill-considered stupid uses of violence. The recent riots weren't fought by angels, but by flesh and blood human beings with all the flaws and limits imposed by conditions of horrific poverty and exploitation, responding to the daily violence of this shit society and all its terrors and mystifications. All of the insurgents have to be supported, regardless of what they are charged with and regardless of questions of guilt or innocence. None of them could get a fair trial, and even if they could, all of us would still need to take a clear line of unconditional support for all hostages taken by the state during and after the May Days.

*A list of class war prisoners in the United States can be found in the Fall 1991 issue of Social Justice (POB 40601, San Francisco, CA. 94140), or from the Peoples Law Office (343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607, Chicago, IL. 60604). Information about imprisoned war resisters from the Gulf war can be obtained from the Anti-Warrior (48 Shattuck, Box 129, Berkeley, CA. 94704).*

1. **Editors' Note:** It is abundantly clear that those charged with beating Reginald Denny are being crucified by the mass media and the government as punishment for their symbolic 'guilt' for the whole uprising. As usual, the commercial media have presented a highly skewed picture of the beating (without investigating events leading up to it in the area, including an immediately preceding police beating of the neighbors of one suspect), while the government at all levels is crusading for a quick and simple legal lynching. In contrast to the assault charge filed against the gang of cops who devastated Rodney King, Damian Williams (19), Antonine Miller (20) and Henry Watson (27) were each charged with attempted murder, torture, aggravated mayhem and robbery. At the arraignment of Damian Williams, L.A. police chief Gates placed the entire LAPD on full tactical alert, in a melodramatic gesture similar to Gates' personal media-orchestrated arrest of Williams in the company of 200 cops and FBI agents. Williams' bail was then set at a level six and a half times that of Rodney King's LAPD assailants. When his mother was able to raise the money, the U.S. Attorney prevented his release. And while defense lawyers contested this, 37 new felony charges were filed against him and his two co-defendants. Bail was increased to \$580,000, almost 20 times that of the Rodney King assailants. When Damian Williams' mother, with widespread support from the outraged black community was coming close to making this new bail amount, court began special proceedings supposedly to determine whether property used for securing bail was "acquired legally," and the D.A. began videotaping Damian's family and supporters. For a more complete account see Mike Davis' "L.A. Was Just the Beginning" (*Open Magazine*, POB 2726, Westfield, NJ. 07091).



# WATTS 1965

## *The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle-Commodity Economy*

S i t u a t i o n i s t I n t e r n a t i o n a l

**A**UGUST 13–16, 1965, the blacks of Los Angeles revolted. An incident between traffic police and pedestrians developed into two days of spontaneous riots. Despite increasing reinforcements, the forces of order were unable to regain control of the streets. By the third day the blacks had armed themselves by looting accessible gun stores, enabling them to fire even on police helicopters. It took thousands of police and soldiers—including an entire infantry division supported by tanks—to confine the riot to the Watts area, and several more days of street fighting to finally bring it under control. Thousands of stores were plundered and burned. Official sources listed 32 dead (including 27 blacks), more than 800 wounded and 3000 arrests.

Reactions from all sides were most revealing: a revolutionary event, by bringing existing problems into the open, provokes its opponents into an inhabitual lucidity. Police Chief William Parker, for example, rejected all the major black organizations' offers of mediation, correctly asserting: "These rioters don't have any leaders." Since the blacks no longer had any leaders, it was the moment of truth for both sides. What did one of those unemployed leaders, NAACP general secretary Roy Wilkins, have to say? He declared that the riot "should be put down with all necessary force." And Los Angeles Cardinal McIntyre, who protested loudly, did not protest against the violence of the repression, which one might have supposed the most tactful policy at a time when the Roman Church is modernizing its image; he denounced "this premeditated revolt against the rights of one's neighbor and against respect for law and order," calling on Catholics to oppose the looting and "this violence without any apparent justification." And all those who went so far as to recognize the "apparent justifications" of the rage of the Los Angeles blacks (but never their real ones), all the ideologists and "spokesmen" of the vacuous international Left, deplored the irresponsibility, the disorder, the looting (especially the fact that *arms and alcohol* were the first targets) and the 2000 fires with which the blacks lit up their battle and their ball. But who has defended the Los Angeles rioters in the terms they deserve? We will. Let the economists fret over the \$27 million lost, and the city planners sigh over one of their most beautiful supermarkets gone up in smoke, and McIntyre blubber over his slain deputy sheriff; let the sociologists bemoan the absurdity and intoxication of this rebellion. The role of a revolutionary publication is not only to justify the Los Angeles insurgents, but to help elucidate their perspectives, to explain theo-

retically the truth for which such practical action expresses the search.

In Algiers in July 1965, following Boumedienne's *coup d'état*, the situationists issued an "Address" to the Algerians and to revolutionaries all over the world which interpreted conditions in Algeria and the rest of the world *as a whole*. Among other examples we mentioned the movement of the American blacks, stating that if it could "assert itself incisively" it would unmask the contradictions of the most advanced capitalist system. Five weeks later this incisiveness was in the streets. Modern theoretical criticism of modern society and criticism in acts of the same society already coexist; still separated but both advancing toward the same realities, both talking about the same thing. These two critiques are mutually explanatory, and neither can be understood without the other. Our theory of "survival" and of "the spectacle" is illuminated and verified by these actions which are so incomprehensible to American false consciousness. One day these actions will in turn be illuminated by this theory.

Until the Watts explosion, black "Civil Rights" demonstrations had been kept by their leaders within the limits of a legal system that tolerates the most appalling violence on the part of the police and the racists—as in last March's march on Montgomery, Alabama. Even after the latter scandal, a discreet agreement between the federal government, Governor Wallace and Martin Luther King led the Selma marchers on March 10 to stand back at the first police warning, in dignity and prayer. The confrontation expected by the demonstrators was reduced to a mere spectacle of a potential confrontation. In that moment nonviolence reached the pitiful limit of its courage: first you expose yourself to the enemy's blows, then you push your moral nobility to the point of sparing him the trouble of using any more force. But the main point is that the Civil Rights movement only addressed legal problems by legal means. It is logical to make legal appeals regarding legal questions. What is irrational is to appeal legally against a blatant illegality as if it was a mere oversight that would be corrected if pointed out. It is obvious that the crude and glaring illegality from which blacks still suffer in many American states has its roots in a socioeconomic contradiction that is not within the scope of existing laws, and that no future *judicial* law will be able to get rid of this contradiction in the face of the more fundamental laws of this society. What American blacks are really daring to demand is the right to really live, and in the final analysis this requires nothing less than the total subver-



sion of this society. This becomes increasingly evident as blacks in their everyday lives find themselves forced to use increasingly subversive methods. The issue is no longer the condition of American blacks, but the condition of America, which merely happens to find its first expression among the blacks. The Watts riot was not a *racial* conflict: the rioters left alone the whites that were in their path, attacking only the white policemen, while on the other hand black solidarity did not extend to black store-owners or even to black car-drivers. Martin Luther King himself had to admit that the revolt went beyond the limits of



Kids playing with a rifled cash register (Watts, 1965).

his specialty. Speaking in Paris last October, he said: "This was not a race riot. It was a class riot."

The Los Angeles rebellion was a rebellion against the commodity, against the world of the commodity in which worker-consumers are *hierarchically* subordinated to commodity standards. Like the young delinquents of all the advanced countries, but more radically because they are part of a class without a future, a sector of the proletariat unable to believe in any significant chance of integration or promotion, the Los Angeles blacks take modern capitalist propaganda, its publicity of abundance, *literally*. They want to possess *now* all the objects shown and abstractly accessible, because they want to *use* them. In this way they are challenging their exchange-value, the *commodity reality* which molds them and marshals them to its own ends, and which has *preselected everything*. Through theft and gift they rediscover a use that immediately refutes the oppressive rationality of the commodity, revealing its relations and even its production to be arbitrary and unnecessary. The looting of the Watts district was the most direct realization of the distorted principle: "To each according to their *false* needs"—needs determined and produced by the economic system which the very act of looting rejects. But once the vaunted abundance is taken at face value and directly *seized*, instead of being eternally pursued in the rat race of alienated labor and increasing but unmet social needs, real desires begin to be expressed in festive celebration,

in playful self-assertion, in the *potlatch* of destruction. People who destroy commodities show their human superiority over commodities. They stop submitting to the arbitrary forms that distortedly reflect their real needs. The flames of Watts *consummated* the system of consumption. The theft of large refrigerators by people with no electricity, or with their electricity cut off, is the best image of the lie of affluence transformed into a truth *in play*. Once it is no longer bought, the commodity lies open to criticism and alteration, whatever particular form it may take. Only when it is paid for with money is it respected

as an admirable fetish, as a symbol of status within the world of survival.

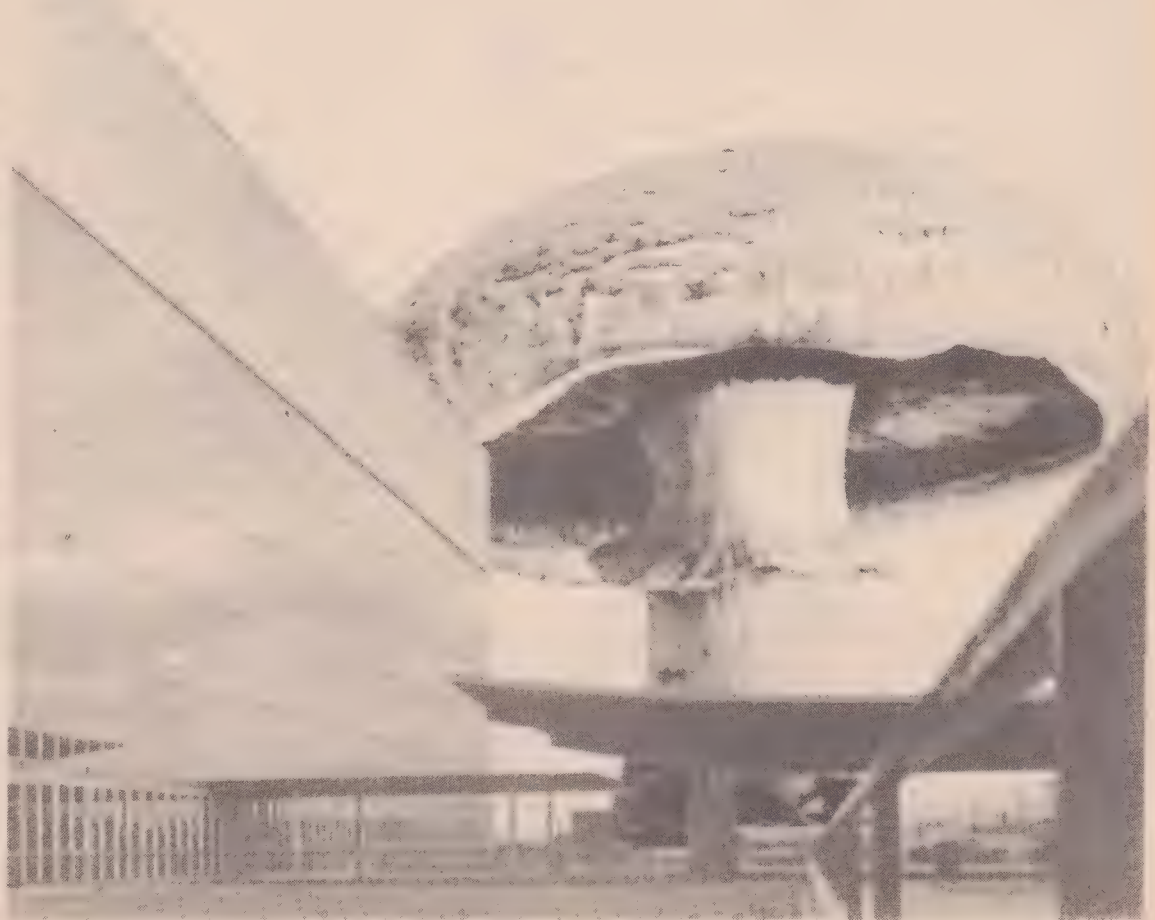
Looting is a *natural* response to the unnatural and inhuman society of commodity abundance. It instantly undermines the commodity as such, and it also exposes what the commodity ultimately implies: the army, the police and the other specialized detachments of the state's monopoly of armed violence. What is a policeman? He is the active servant of the commodity, the man in complete submission to the commodity, whose job it is to ensure that a given product of human labor remains a commodity, with the magical property of having to be paid for, instead of becoming a mere refrigerator or rifle—a passive, inanimate object, subject to anyone who comes along to make use of it. In rejecting the humiliation of being subject to police, the blacks are at the same time rejecting the humiliation of being subject to commodities. The Watts youth, having no future in market terms, grasped another *quality* of the present, and that quality was so incontestable and irresistible that it drew in the whole population—women, children, and even sociologists who happened to be on the scene. Bobbi Hollon, a young black sociologist of the neighborhood, had this to say to the *Herald Tribune* in October: "Before, people were ashamed to say they came from Watts. They'd mumble it. Now they say it with pride. Boys who used to go around with their shirts open to the waist, and who'd have cut you to pieces in half a second, showed up here every morning at



seven o'clock to organize the distribution of food. Of course, it's no use pretending that food wasn't looted...All that Christian blah has been used too long against blacks. These people could loot for ten years and they wouldn't get back half the money those stores have stolen from them over all these years...Me, I'm only a little black girl." Bobbi Hollon, who has sworn never to wash off the blood that splashed on her sandals during the rioting, adds: "Now the whole world is watching Watts."

How do people make history under conditions designed to dissuade them from intervening in it? Los Angeles blacks are better paid than any others in the United States, but they are also the most *separated* from the California superopulence that is flaunted all around them. Hollywood, the pole of the global spectacle, is right next door. They are promised that, with patience, they will join in America's prosperity, but they come to see that this prosperity is not a fixed state but an endless ladder. The higher they climb, the farther they get from the top, because they start off disadvantaged, because they are less qualified and thus more numerous among the unemployed, and finally because the hierarchy that crushes them is not based on economic buying power alone: they are also treated as *inherently* inferior in every area of daily life by the customs and prejudices of a society in which all human power is based on buying power. Just as the human riches of the American blacks are despised and treated as criminal, monetary riches will never make them completely acceptable in America's alienated society: individual wealth will only make a *rich nigger* because blacks as a whole must *represent poverty* in a society of hierarchized wealth. Every witness noted the cry proclaiming the global significance of the uprising: "This is a black revolution and we want the world to know it!" *Freedom Now* is the password of all the revolutions of history, but now for the first time the problem is not to overcome scarcity, but to master material abundance according to new principles. Mastering abundance is not just changing the way it is shared out, but *redefining its whole orientation*. This is the first step of a vast, all-embracing struggle.

The blacks are not alone in their struggle, because a *new proletarian consciousness* (the consciousness that they are not at all the masters of their own activities, of their own lives) is developing in America among strata which in their rejection of modern capitalism resemble the blacks. It was, in fact, the first phase of the black struggle which happened to be the signal for the more general movement of contestation that is now spreading. In December 1964 the students of Berkeley, harassed for their participation in the Civil Rights movement, initiated a strike challenging the functioning of California's "multiversity" and ultimately calling into question the entire American social system in which they are being programmed to play such a passive role. The spectacle promptly responded with exposés of widespread student drinking, drug use and sexual immorality—the same activities for which blacks have long been reproached. This generation of students has gone on to invent a new form of struggle against the dominant spectacle, the *teach-in*, a form taken up October 20 in Great Britain at the University of Edinburgh during the Rhodesian crisis. This obviously primitive and imperfect form represents the stage at which people *refuse to confine their discussion of problems* within academic limits or fixed time periods; the stage when they strive to pursue issues to their ultimate consequences and are thus led to practical activity. The same month tens of thousands of anti-Vietnam war demonstrators appeared in the streets of Berkeley and New York, their cries



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).



echoing those of the Watts rioters: "Get out of our district and out of Vietnam!" Becoming more radical, many of the whites are finally going outside the law—"courses" are given on how to hoodwink army recruiting boards; draft cards are burned in front of television cameras. In the affluent society disgust is being expressed for this affluence and *for its price*. The spectacle is being spat on by an advanced sector whose autonomous activity denies its values. The classical proletariat, to the very extent to which it had been provisionally integrated into the capitalist system, had itself failed to integrate the blacks (several Los Angeles unions refused blacks until 1959); now the blacks are the rallying point for all those who refuse the logic of this integration into capitalism, which is all that the promise of racial integration amounts to. Comfort will never be comfortable enough for those who seek what is not on the market, what in fact the market specifically eliminates. The level attained by the technology of the most privileged becomes an insult, and one more easily grasped and resented than is that most fundamental insult: reification. The Los Angeles rebellion is the first in history to justify itself with the argument that there was no air conditioning during a heat wave.

The American blacks have their own particular spectacle, their own black newspapers, magazines and stars, and if they are rejecting it in disgust as a fraud and as an expression of their humiliation, it is because they see it as a *minority* spectacle, a mere appendage of a general spectacle. Recognizing that their own spectacle of desirable consumption is a colony of the white one enables them to see more quickly through the falsehood of the whole economic-cultural spectacle. By wanting to participate really and immediately in the affluence that is the official value of every American, they are really demanding the egalitarian *actualization* of the American spectacle of everyday life—they are demanding that the half-heavenly, half-earthly values of the spectacle be put to the test. But it is in the nature of the spectacle that it cannot be actualized either immediately or equally, *not even for the whites*. (The blacks in fact function as a perfect spectacular object-lesson: the threat of falling into such wretchedness spurs others on in the rat race.) In taking the capitalist spectacle at its face value, the blacks are already rejecting the spectacle itself. The spectacle is a drug for slaves. It is designed not to be taken literally, but to be followed from just out of reach; when this separation is eliminated, the hoax is revealed. In the United States today the whites are enslaved to the commodity while the blacks are negating it. The blacks are asking for *more than the whites*—this is the core of a problem that has no solution except the dissolution of the white social system. This is why those whites who want to escape their own slavery must first of all rally to the black revolt—not, obviously, in racial solidarity, but in a joint global rejection of the commodity and of the state. The economic and psychological distance between blacks and whites enables blacks to see white consumers for what they are, and their justified contempt for whites develops into a contempt for passive consumers in general. The whites who reject this role have no chance unless they link their struggle more and more to that of the blacks, uncovering its most fundamental implications and supporting them all the way. If, with the radicalization of the struggle,

such a convergence is not sustained, black nationalist tendencies will be reinforced, leading to the sort of futile interethnic antagonism so characteristic of the old society. Mutual slaughter is the other possible outcome of the present situation, once resignation is no longer tolerable.

The attempts to build a separatist or pro-African black nationalism are dreams giving no answer to the real oppression. The American blacks have no fatherland. They are *in their own country* and they are *alienated*. So are the rest of the population, but the blacks are aware of it. In this sense they are not the most backward sector of American society, but the most advanced. They are the negation at work, "the bad aspect that makes history by setting the struggle in motion" (*The Poverty of Philosophy*). Africa has no special monopoly on that.

The American blacks are a product of modern industry, just like electronics or advertising or the cyclotron. And they embody its contradictions. They are the people that the spectacle paradise must simultaneously integrate and reject, with the result that the antagonism between the spectacle and human activity is totally revealed through them. The spectacle is *universal*, it pervades the globe just as the commodity does. But since the world of the commodity is based on class conflict, the commodity itself is hierarchical. The necessity for the commodity (and hence for the spectacle, whose role is to *inform* the commodity world) to be both universal and hierarchical leads to a universal hierarchization. But because this hierarchization must remain *unavowed*, it is expressed in the form of unavowable, because *irrational*, hierarchical value judgments in a world of *irrational rationalization*. It is this hierarchization that creates *racisms* everywhere. The British Labour government has come to the point of restricting nonwhite immigration, while the industrially advanced countries of Europe are once again becoming racist as they import their subproletariat from the Mediterranean area, developing a colonial exploitation within their own borders. And if Russia continues to be anti-Semitic it is because it continues to be a hierarchical society in which labor must be bought and sold as a commodity. The commodity is constantly extending its domain and engendering new forms of hierarchy, whether between labor leader and worker or between two car-owners with artificially distinguished models. This is the original flaw in commodity rationality, the sickness of bourgeois reason, a sickness which has been inherited by the bureaucratic class. But the repulsive absurdity of certain hierarchies, and the fact that the entire world of the commodity is directed blindly and automatically to their protection, leads people to see—the moment they engage in a negating practice—that every hierarchy is absurd.

The rational world produced by the industrial revolution has rationally liberated individuals from their local and national limitations and linked them on a global scale; but it irrationally separates them once again, in accordance with a hidden logic that finds its expression in insane ideas and grotesque values. Estranged from their own world, people are everywhere surrounded by strangers. The barbarians are no longer at the ends of the earth, they are among the general population,

Continued on page 55...



# Howls from the Hole

By Ann Howe

**S**ensory Deprivation is the reduction of sensory stimulation to a minimum. It is depriving human beings of all normal contact with their environment through sight, hearing and movement.

Folsom prison, in California, confines inmates to special cells with only necessary facilities and enough food to keep them alive. They are forced to lay quietly on bunks for as long as months at a time. They call it "Administrative Segregation." We've heard of it as "the hole" or solitary.

Prison bureaucrats learned from Prisoners of War who have been "softened up" and prepared for brainwashing by being subjected to solitary confinement. The experiments have revealed that sensory deprivation can have marked effects on practically every mental process, although these effects have varied from subject to subject. The most common emotional effects are restlessness, boredom, and irritability. Some subjects enjoyed the experience during the first few hours, but tended to become apprehensive after two days of isolation. In some cases anxiety rose to panic proportions: "The quiet was so loud it was like a knife stabbing through my eardrums." The effects on thinking processes also increased as time wore on.

In the first few hours they have found it increasingly hard to concentrate and control their thoughts. They finally drifted

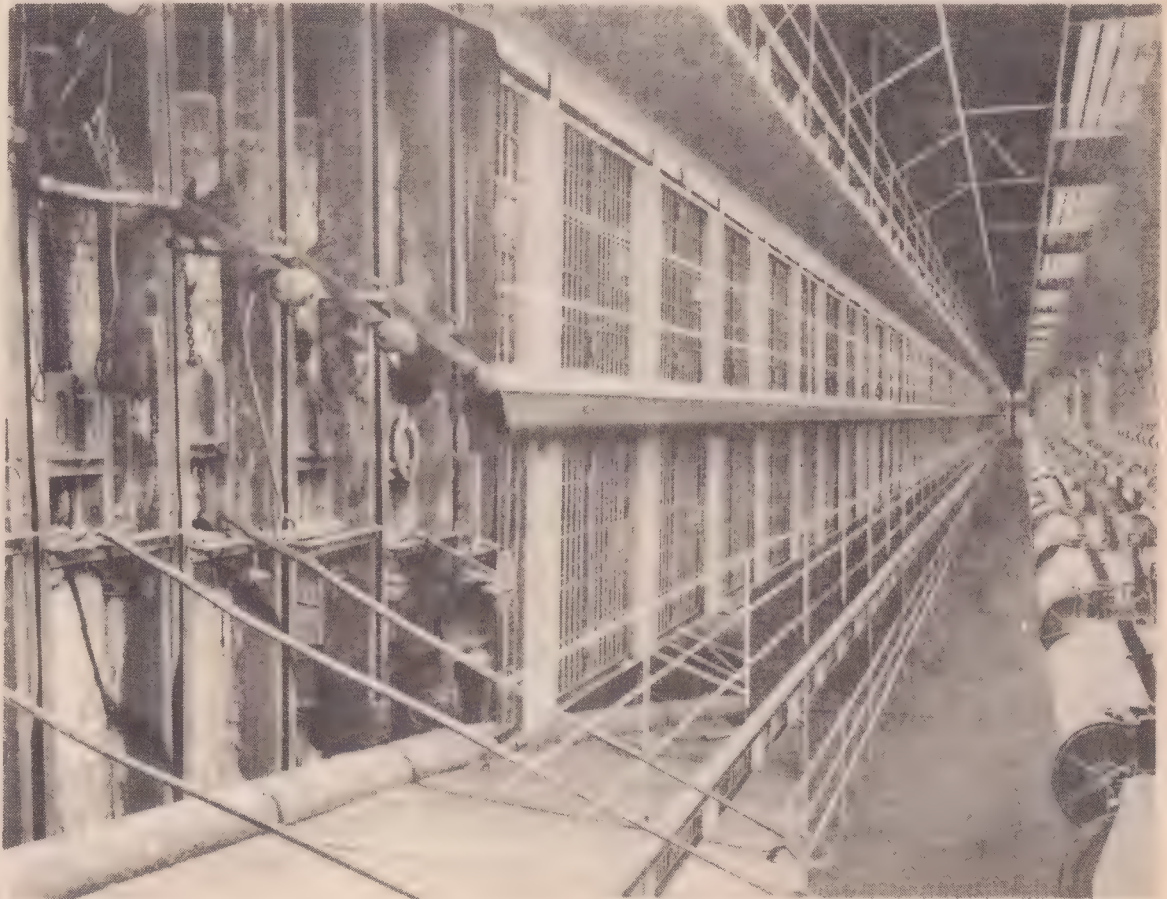
into daydreaming and incoherent fantasies. A distinct loss in the ability not only to solve problems but to adjust to novel situations has been found. There was also a general loss of efficiency in motor ability. Co-ordination was poorer and reaction time was longer than usual. (If an inmate in Folsom reacts slowly to a guard's command they can be punished further and usually are.)

Two other effects are particularly significant. It has been revealed that subjects were more easily swayed by propaganda than the ones not under Administrative Segregation—a fact that helps to explain the use of isolation in brainwashing. Second, gross perceptual changes frequently occurred during sensory deprivation. Illusions and even hallucinations, similar to those produced by mescaline and other drugs have been

experienced.

Although they were in a silent environment, they heard strange music and chirping birds or saw door knobs on imaginary walls. In trying to hold on to reality they struggled to recall recent real life events and were unable to do so.

So far the experiments have indicated beyond much doubt that the human being cannot continue to function in a normal way if he is deprived of sensory impressions from the external world. In the absence of continuous and varied stimulation, all psychological processes tend to become disrupted and disorganized. The cognitive, perceptual, and emotional changes associated with and consequent to deprivation leave the subject less competent to meet the demands of this environment and the



*Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).*



society which he must reenter at some point.

Therefore, while this age old brainwashing technique sometimes works to control the prison environment it only serves to increase the danger to the general population.

The hole, adjustment unit, the box, Siberia, Klondike, solitary, isolation, "Administrative Segregation."

In one prison, an American Indian had been so uncontrollable that he had been kept in the hole for years. His cell door had been welded closed. Eventually, a new warden released him. But by this time he had become blind. That was in an old prison, but there are uncivilized practices in some of the newest.

Difficult inmates may be segregated without specific offense or hearing for months or even years, simply because they are active in prison politics or just plain ornery. In short, due process has not had a significant place in that most autocratic of American institutions, the prison.

Folsom was built in 1890 in Sacramento, California. There, the inmates that are put in the hole are being punished for such offenses as fighting, possessing homemade weapons such as nails, or drinking 'julep'. Most often the complainant is an officer who may or may not be objective and fair. Nevertheless the officer's accusation is tantamount to a finding of guilt, for it is a correctional precept that the officer's word must be upheld. For example, if it looks like a fight has taken place the standard response is to treat the two as equally guilty; they say weakly, "It takes two to tango," and lock up both suspects.

Once the inmate has been accused he is put in the hole to wait for a hearing by the prison bureaucrats. In the hole he is virtually cut off from everything, including his possessions, and it may be as long as 15 days before he is given the charges against him. This is a further means of prolonging his tension so that, long before questioning starts, his thinking may have begun to get distorted. He will have been foraging in his mind for all possible reasons why he has been imprisoned, and perhaps finding every answer but the right one. He may even begin to believe in his speculations as though they were facts.

Confessions can be made which, though largely false, may come to be

believed by both the examiner and the prisoner. This is because the examiner first suggests that he is guilty of a crime and tries to convince him. Even if the inmate is innocent, the long tension to which he has been subjected may well have already frightened him into suggestibility. If the examination is pressed, he may even begin to play back an old record—confessing to crimes suggested by the officer in earlier cross-examinations. The officers, forgetting that the incidents were originally their own guesswork, are deceived: the prisoner has now 'spontaneously' confessed what they have been suspecting all along. It is not realized that fatigue and anxiety induce suggestibility in the examiner as well as the prisoner.

This increased suggestibility, or the paradoxical or ultraparadoxical phase of reaction to stress is most likely to occur when such persons may be most easily persuaded to make statements which not only increase their chances of conviction, but even sometimes incriminate themselves unjustly. Later they may calm down, return to a more normal state of brain activity, and ask to withdraw these statements. It is then too late.

The prisoner often spends the entire period before his bureaucratic hearing, and during it, trying to understand how he came to sign so damaging a 'voluntary' statement as he has given and wonder how to explain or extricate himself from its implications.

Police have no compunctions about writing practical textbooks on the subject of how to elicit confessions. The lie detector and urine test has been found to be wonderfully effective for scaring the inexperienced into making confessions. Even if a test is negative, the examiner can still pretend to believe it positive, to help win a confession. 'Career' criminals have learned by experience the danger of co-operating in any form with police questioning or examination and so refuse to answer any questions at all.

The experienced criminal is handled by "keeping at him" day after day until he 'breaks'. They get him into a mental corner, a wedge in as a start, which is his weak spot. Once the weak spot is found the prisoner becomes confused, all his defenses have been beaten down. He's cornered, trapped. That's when he breaks. The torture comes from his own

mind, not from the outside.

With such a technique, truth and falsehood can get hopelessly confused in the minds of both the suspect and the examiner; and if what he calls a "weak spot" is not present, the police examiner determined to get a confession can create it by suggestion. The prisoner has merely given back what has been originally implied or suggested. They have both been brainwashed.

Major A. Farrar-Hockley gave a description of the technique by which ideas can be implanted without the use of strong, direct and obvious suggestion. He had been a British prisoner of war in Korea. "The Chinese are past masters of this technique. They wouldn't tell me what they really wanted. Whenever we got near to something substantial, they would immediately come back to it from another angle and we'd go all round it, but I'd never find out what it was. And then they would go away and leave me thinking. I believe if the interrogator went on long enough with someone who is in a very weak state, and then sprang the idea suddenly on him, the chap would seize on it and become obsessed by it. He would begin to say, 'Well, I wonder whether in fact it's all really true, and this is what I was thinking in the first place.' Every time they went away I spent hours saying, 'Now was it that? No, it couldn't have been that. I wonder if it was so and so?' and that's what they were trying to do. They were trying to get me to a state when the idea would suddenly come, and I would begin to wonder whether I'd thought of it or they had. Now another method is to gradually suggest something by talking round it and getting a little nearer each time and just giving a fragment so that you build up the idea in your mind. And they say, 'But you said this, we didn't' and you would think you had." Of course, for this technique to work the prisoner must be put in segregation where the sensory deprivation is greatest.

In the years 1644-1646 women suspected of being witches were also put in the hole with nothing so that the official witch-finders could gain their confession. The U.S. Justice Department shares a long and distinguished career with witch hunters, the Inquisition, the Russian purges, and Chinese torturers.



## You have to go through hell to get there...

If you're planning on going to hell, get up early. A lot of people are in line already at the airport ahead of you. I took the cheapest flight, which turned out to be a "milk run." No, they don't serve milk or any food for that matter. Plan on fasting. It took off from San Antonio, landed in El Paso, took off from there and landed in San Diego and then landed in San Francisco. The pilot flying that plane had to be the very best at landing aircraft as he had a lot of practice that day. Catching a flight to Sacramento isn't easy, either. United wanted as much for it as I had paid to come all the way from Texas. I considered taking a bus but being a true Texan, I decided I'd had enough of public transportation and rented a car.

Don't ever take directions from someone at an airport. They want you to see the countryside, at 200 miles per hour. These people are in a hurry out here. After travelling some distance north, when I should have been going northeast I spotted a beloved McDonald's in the middle of nowhere, where I received a sugar fix and valid directions.

To enter the gates of hell, get up early. There are a lot of rules and it takes time to get it right. First of all you can't take anything with you except your ID. Even pens and pencils are not allowed. This means you have to keep every instruction in your head. For instance, you have to wear underwear. Now, who would have thought of that? (Buy a bra, girls!)

Folsom State Prison is clean. In fact, there are inmates all over the place mopping, sweeping, raking, etc. The "corrections officers" in the visiting room were polite.

The inmate that I had come half way across the country to visit had been placed in the hole a few days before my arrival. That meant our visit would have to be behind glass, on a telephone and could only last one and one-half hours instead of the usual six hours in the regular visiting room. These are large rooms with snack machines and tables and chairs where many others are visiting at the same time. Usually an inmate is allowed a 'greeting' which can only be one kiss and one hug at the beginning of the visit, nothing at the end, or in-between, or at any other time. No holding hands please!

No one on the outside can possibly imagine what it means to someone to have contact with normality. Things like a radio, letter, newspaper, books, can mean the difference between the life and death of a person's spirit, soul and mind. It's survival of the personal self.

The "goon squad" is a group of officers dressed like a SWAT team or the Delta Force. They bring the inmate up from the hole by handcuffing his wrists behind his back, and putting on leg irons which are all attached to a chain around the waist. When the inmate leaves the visiting cell he backs up to a slot in the steel room with his wrists behind him. He is hooked up to other inmates and marched back down to the depths of hell, to total sensory deprivation: no radio, no TV, no food, no heat, no shower, no personal belongings, no hygiene, nothing, nothing, nothing.

This is California, U.S.A. and this is what our Justice Department does to political activists. Remember this trip to hell the next time you think you have freedom of speech. Consider it. You're next. -Ann Howe

## WATTS 1965 continued from page 52

made into barbarians by their forced participation in the worldwide system of hierarchical consumption. The veneer of humanism that camouflages all this is inhuman, it is the negation of human activities and desires; it is the humanism of the commodity, the solicitous care of the parasitical commodity for its human host. For those who reduce people to objects, objects seem to acquire human qualities and truly human manifestations appear as unconscious "animal behavior." Thus the chief humanist of Los Angeles, William Parker, could say: "They started acting like a bunch of monkeys in a zoo."

When California authorities declared a "state of insurrection," the insurance companies recalled that they do not cover risks at that level—they guarantee nothing beyond survival. The American blacks can rest assured that as long as they keep quiet they will in most cases be allowed to *survive*. Capitalism has become sufficiently concentrated and inter-linked with the state to distribute "welfare" to the poorest. But by the very fact that they lag behind in the advance of socially organized survival, the blacks pose the problems of *life*; what they are really demanding is not to survive but to *live*. The blacks have nothing of their own to insure; their mission is to destroy all previous forms of private insurance and security. They appear as what they really are: the irreconcilable enemies, not of the great majority of Americans, but of the alienated way of life of the entire modern society. The most industrially advanced country only shows us the road that will be followed everywhere unless the system is overthrown.

Certain black nationalist extremists, to show why they can accept nothing less than a separate nation, have argued that even if American society someday concedes total civil and economic equality, it will never, on a personal level, come around to accepting interracial marriage. This is why *this American society itself must disappear*—in America and everywhere else in the world. The end of all racial prejudice, like the end of so many other prejudices related to sexual inhibitions, can only lie beyond "marriage" itself, that is, beyond the *bourgeois family* (which has largely fallen apart among American blacks)—the bourgeois family which prevails as much in Russia as in the United States, both as a model of hierarchical relations and as a structure for a stable *inheritance of power* (whether in the form of money or of social-bureaucratic status). It is now often said that American youth, after thirty years of silence, are rising again as a force of contestation, and that the black revolt is their Spanish Civil War. This time their "Lincoln Brigades" must understand the full significance of the struggle in which they are engaging and totally support its universal aspects. The Watts "excesses" are no more a political error in the black revolt than the POUM's May 1937 armed resistance in Barcelona was a betrayal of the anti-Franco war. A revolt against the spectacle—even if limited to a single district such as Watts—calls *everything* into question because it is a human protest against a dehumanized life, a protest of *real individuals* against their separation from a community that would fulfill their *true human and social nature* and transcend the spectacle.

*From the Situationist International Anthology. Newly translated and reissued July 1992 by the Bureau of Public Secrets (P.O. Box 1044, Berkeley, CA. 94701). No copyright.*



Postscript to

# Future Primitive

By John Zerzan

## On the Transition

"Yeah, the critique is impressive and everything, but just how might we actually get from this ghastly world to some healed, whole existence?"

I think we should not doubt that such a journey is possible, nor that the explosion necessary to begin it may be approaching.

The thought of the dominant culture has, of course, always told us that alienated life is inescapable. In fact, culture or civilization itself expresses this essential dogma: the civilizing process, as Freud noted, is the forcible trading of a free, natural life for one of unceasing repression.

Today culture is in a dispirited, used-up state wherever one looks. More important than the entropy afflicting the logic of culture, however, is what seems to be the active, if inchoate resistance to it. This is the ray of hope that disturbs the otherwise all-too-depressing race we witness to determine whether total alienation or the destruction of the biomass will happen first.

People are being stretched and beaten on the rack of everyday emptiness, and the spell of civilization is fading. Lasch referred to a near-universal rage abroad in society, just under the surface. It is growing and its symptoms are legion, amounting to a refusal to leave this earth unsatisfied.

Adorno asked, "What would happiness be that was not measured by the immeasurable grief at what is?" Certainly, the condition of life has become

nightmarish enough to justify such a question, and perhaps also to suggest that something started to go deeply wrong a very long time back. At least it ought to be demonstrating, moving on toward specifics, that the means of reproducing the prevailing Death Ship (e.g. its technology) cannot be used to fashion a liberated world.

The owl hooted and told of the morning star.  
He hooted again and told of the dawn.

*YUMA (North America)*

Saul Bellow's Mr. Sammler wondered, "What is 'common' about the common life? What if some genius were to do with 'common life' what Einstein did with 'matter'? Finding its energetics, uncovering its radiance." Of course, we must all be that 'Einstein', which is exactly what will unleash a creative energy sufficient to utterly refashion the conditions of human existence. Ten thousand years of captivity and darkness, to paraphrase Vaneigem, will not withstand ten days of full-out revolution, which will include the simultaneous reconstruction of our inner selves. Who doesn't hate modern life? Can what conditioning that remains survive such an explosion of life, one that ruthlessly removes the sources of such conditioning?

We are obviously being held hostage by capital and its technology, made to

feel dependent, even helpless, by the sheer weight of it all, the massive inertia of centuries of alienated categories, patterns, values. What could be dispensed with immediately? Borders, governments, hierarchy....What else? How fast could more deep-seated forms of authority and separation be dissolved, such as that of division of labor? I assert, and not, I hope, in the spirit of wishing to derive blueprints from abstract principle, that I can see no ultimate freedom or wholeness without the dissolution of the inherent power of specialists of every kind.

Many say that millions would die if the present techno-global fealty to work and the commodity were scrapped. But this overlooks many potentialities. For example, consider the vast numbers of people who would be freed from manipulative, parasitic, destructive pursuits for those of creativity, health, and liberty. At present, in fact, very few contribute in any way to satisfying authentic needs.

Transporting food thousands of miles, not an atypical pursuit today, is an instance of pointless activity, as is producing countless tons of herbicide and pesticide poisons. The picture of humanity starving if a transformation were attempted may be brought into perspective by reference to a few other agricultural specifics, of a more positive nature. It is perfectly feasible, generally speaking, that we grow our own food. There are simple approaches, involving no division of labor, to large yields in small spaces.

Agriculture itself must be overcome,



as domestication, and because it removes more organic matter from the soil than it puts back. Permaculture is a technique that seems to attempt an agriculture that develops or reproduces itself and thus tends toward nature and away from domestication. It is one example of promising interim ways to survive while moving away from civilization. Cultivation within the cities is another aspect of practical transition, and a further step toward superseding domestication would be a more or less random propagation of plants, a la Johnny Appleseed.

Regarding urban life, any steps toward autonomy and self-help should be realized, beginning now, so that cities may be all the more quickly abandoned later. Created out of capital's need to centralize control of property transactions, religion, and political domination, cities remain as extended life-destroying monuments to the same basic needs of capital. Something on the order of what we know now as museums might be a good idea so that post-upheaval generations could know how grotesque our species' existence became. Moveable celebration sites may be the nearest configuration to cities that disalienated life will express.

Along with the movement out of cities, paralleling it, one might likely see a movement from colder climes to warmer ones. The heating of living space in northern areas constitutes an absurd effort of energy, resources, and time. When humans become once again intimate with the earth, healthier and more robust, these zones would probably be peopled again, in altogether different ways.

As for population itself, its growth is no more a natural or neutral phenomenon than its technology. When life is fatally out of balance, the urge to reproduce appears as compensation for impoverishment, as with the non-civilized gatherer-hunters surviving today, popula-



tion levels would be relatively quite low.

Enrico Guidoni pointed out that architectural structures necessarily reveal a great deal about their social context. Similarly, the isolation and sterility of shelter in class society is hardly accidental, and deserves to be scrapped in toto. Rudofsky's *Architecture Without Architects* deals with some examples of shelter produced not by specialists, but by spontaneous and evolving communal activity. Imagine the inviting richness of dwellings, each unique not mass produced, and a part of a serene mutuality that one might expect to emerge from the collapse of boundaries and artificial scarcities, material and emotional.

Probably 'health' in a new world will be a matter even less recognizable than the question of shelter. The dehumanized industrial 'medicine' of today is totally complicitous with the overall processes of society which rob us of life and vitality. Of countless examples of the criminality of the present, direct profiting from human misery must rank near the top. Alternative healing practices are already challenging the dominant mode, but the only real solution is the abolition of a setup that by its very nature spawns an incredible range of physical and psychic immiseration. From

Reich to Mailer, for example, cancer is recognized as the growth of a general madness blocked and denied. Before civilization disease was generally nonexistent. How could it have been otherwise? Where else do degenerative and infectious diseases, emotional maladies, and all the rest issue if not from work, toxicity, cities, estrangement, fear, unfulfilled lives—the whole canvas of damaged, alienated reality? Destroying the sources will eradicate the suffering. Minor exigencies would be treated by herbs and the like, not to mention a diet of pure, non-processed food.

It seems evident that industrialization and

the factories could not be gotten rid of instantly, but equally clear that their liquidation must be pursued with all the vigor behind the rush of break-out. Such enslavement of people and nature must disappear forever, so that words like production and economy will have no meaning. A graffito from the rising in France in '68 was simply 'Quick!' Those partisans apparently realized the need to move rapidly forward all the way, with no temporizing or compromise with the old world. Half a revolution would only preserve domination and cement its hold over us.

A qualitatively different life would entail abolishing exchange, in every form, in favor of the gift and the spirit of play. Instead of the coercion of work—and how much of the present could continue without precisely that coercion?—an existence without constraints is an immediate, central objective. Unfettered pleasure, creative endeavor along the lines of Fourier: according to the passions of the individual and in a context of complete equality.

What would we keep? "Labor-saving devices"? Unless they involve no division of labor (e.g. a lever or incline), this concept is a fiction; behind the 'saving' is hidden the congealed drudgery of



Every kind of fear and doubt is cultivated against the prospect or possibility of transforming life, including the moment of its beginning. "Wouldn't revolt mean mayhem, hoarding, survivalist violence, etc.?" But popular uprisings seem to embody strong feelings of joy, unity, and generosity. Considering the most recent U.S. examples, the urban

Our biggest obstacle lies in forgetting the primacy of the negative. Hesitation, peaceful coexistence—this deficiency of desire will prove fatal if allowed to be ascendent. The truly humanitarian and pacific impulse is that which is committed to relentlessly destroying the malignant dynamic known as civilization, including its roots. Time is a stunting, confining imposition of culture, naming is a domination, like counting, an aspect of the distancing of language. In the

Tearing up the concrete could begin immediately, as my late friend Bob Brubaker once counseled. Literally, under the pavement, it's the beach!

(John Zerzan's essay, "Future Primitive," appeared in *Anarchy* #33/Summer '92. He is also the author of *Elements of Refusal* [Left Bank Books, 4142 Brooklyn NE, Seattle, WA. 98105. 1988.]

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#34



## Tad Planet

By Tad Kepley

### Fear of a Tad Planet

A Tad Planet practices selective breeding via forced miscegenation. Its businessmen mind their own business; its feminists are. Anyone who fucks with anyone else gets blown away on a Tad Planet, but only kids are allowed to carry guns, and we expect them brats to obey that order. No porn on a T.P., everyone has easy access to the real deal. Constant travel—no bullshit stationary 'community' here, everyone is a nomad: bad-assed trailer-court Bedouins in methane-driven Broncos thrumming and caroming from parallel to parallel across cracked and bubbling asphalt. Here is there here—movement a communal abuse of speed for its own sake. Anything that anyone ever paid for is redeemed only through fire...non-liberatory commodities are trashed in spontaneous bursts of arbitrary flame, not to assuage guilt but to celebrate and commemorate the supersession of their usefulness. Theft has become the preferred mode of exchange—no property is held communally here for no property is held—when immediate use of an object has ceased, it's up for grabs. You never know where you'll be tomorrow here, and you're glad. Everyone is socially responsible for being equally socially irresponsible. We specialize in despecialization, we're centrally decentralized...we take freshman philosophical paradox as the maximal tenet of our lack of ideology. Art doesn't exist because it implies the stationary; sand-paintings sprout on the overgrown roadsides as graffiti's exquisite corpses adorned the crumbling city walls...The only way one communes with the land on a Tad Planet is by crossing it. No one tells you what to do because no one cares what you do. On a Tad Planet you get high on life by doing drugs (ritual abuse has replaced ritual use), you imprison yourself with freedom. Everyone is a potential lover and always a potential enemy—both if you're lucky. Stapled by gravity to the side of a Tad Planet we disobey our own orders, we contradict ourselves

and tell you we didn't, all rules are made to be broken. A Tad planet has compassion without condescension, "rebellion without guile." The slinking, snickering coyote is our familiar. Our global emblem is the horseshoe crab—like our species, a resilient evolutionary anomaly. Our colors, never worn, are rust and the green of the aurora; the farewell flash of the sun. The nose-breaking, septum-searing stink of creosote and rose-pink diesel our decorative stench. The tornado is our totem, convection's consummate creation; atmospheric thermodynamics our only exact science. Our endless summers are spent trailing interesting meteorological phenomena—we chase thunderstorms from Rockies to Mississippi; we ice our drinks with hail. We worship only ourselves and each other on a Tad Planet, we all have U.V. sensitive tattoos on this ball—visible only under the black lites that illuminate our shanties and teepees. Brutality is beautiful here: the most direct form of communication, it punctuates our appreciation of life...The only contests here are won by producing the gel explosive with the highest foot-per-second dispersal rate, marathon spinning on a tilt-a-whirl, achieving orgasm the most times and with the most partners in one swing of the sun. Sex has nothing to do with 'intimacy' and everything to do with selfish pleasure, our genitalia don't have scabs, they've got battle-scars. We measure our body temperatures in degrees Kelvin...we party in rooms sealed full of nitrous oxide and helium. A Tad Planet's music is the warm warble of high tension wire in a stiff wind, the throb of infrasound stirred by harmonic tectonics, accompanied by harmonica, mouth-harp and dijeridoo, with a snot-nosed percussion section of several calibres (rapid fire .223 and .308 snare, 10 and 12 g. bass, .22 and .25 hi-hat at a distance—the lilting cracks and booms best appreciated through a half-mile of thick air). On this tilting terrafirma, the manipulative die of inertia. We revel in flaunting the 'laws' of nature—defying and decrying cruel gravity as sizeist, converting energy from useless states into useful ones, shucking fucking edenic entropy as silly, burning both ends of a paraffin ouroboros, daring ourselves to die as a celebration of life. But above all (on this viral mote of an orb), nothing is ever easy, nothing is ever done for you—all is challenging and

vibrant, a coruscating lacy latticework of carnivorous chaos ponderously pickle-eating pregnant with prurient possibility. Caveat emptor.

Guest Column:

## Loose Cannons

By Lance Klafeta

### Ayn Rand and the perversion of libertarianism

The political controversy of the late 19th century was: whether socialists (all those who believed in the individual's right to possess what he or she produced) should engage in the political process, seize control of the state, and use the state apparatus to achieve liberation; or, whether a worker's state was inherently contradictory, counter revolutionary, and would only lead to the creation of a new ruling class whose interests would still clash with those of the ruled—that the state should be abolished allowing for no transitional stage of any kind during which power may have the chance to reconsolidate itself.

The situation has recreated itself with amazing similarity almost exactly a century later.

Non-libertarian parties the world over (those who see authoritarian centralization the bulwark of civilization) are bankrupt, economically and intellectually. The only viable intellectual current today falls under that ambiguous term—'libertarian'.

Today there exist beneath this umbrella as many splinter groups as there were a hundred years ago under the umbrella of socialism. Two distinct trends, a right and a left if you will, are clearly discernible.

One group, clearly the largest with a hierarchical organization modeled on the other political parties, believes, like most Marxists, in constitutional parliamentary republican democracy.

They believe that the state is a necessary guarantor of individual safety and the product of the individual's labor, and in gradual progress toward a free society



through participation in the political process.

The other group, much smaller and far more splintered, reject the state as necessarily a tool of class domination and exploitation.

This group believes that what Bakunin said a hundred years ago is as true today, "If you took the most ardent revolutionary, vested him in absolute power, within a year he would be worse than the Czar himself."

The first group is in all fairness a direct inheritor of the ideals of the American Revolution. In modern times, however, it has only two roots: (1) the Austrian school of economics represented by Ludwig Von Mises; (2) the philosophy of Ayn Rand.

Von Mises never considered the libertarians. He answered the Marxists and the Keynesians and defended laissez-faire capitalism at a time when no one else would. His justification for capitalism was empirical—the greatest good for the greatest number.

Ayn Rand, however, attempted to offer a moral justification of capitalism by substituting the word 'capitalism' for the libertarian meaning of the word 'socialism'. She then attributed all of the ills of capitalism to government interference with the market and all of the world's wealth to the minds of the men whom the world considered the robber barons.

The contrast between Ayn Rand's 'Objectivism' and libertarianism is deeper than mere substitution of terminology, however. Several of her propositions or axioms place her clearly outside of the libertarian tradition.

Her justification of the state is derived from a *Hobbesian state of nature theory*: "...a society without an organized



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government would be at the mercy of the first criminal who came along and who would precipitate it into chaos and gang warfare...." [*The Virtue of Selfishness*, 152; pb 112]

"If a society provided no organized protection against force, it would compel every citizen to go about armed, to turn his home into a fortress, to shoot any strangers approaching his door—or to join a protective gang of citizens who would fight other gangs, formed for the same purpose, and thus bring about the degeneration of society into the chaos of gang rule, i.e., rule by brute force, into perpetual warfare of prehistoric savages." [*Ibid.*, 146; pb 108]

Ayn Rand's belief in the inherent depravity of human nature which renders us forever incapable of living with-

out rulers and not descending to the level of 'savages', clearly places her outside of the libertarian tradition which views human nature as essentially good, capable of indefinite improvement through the experience of freedom and the exercise of reason.

Her knowledge of anthropology is as embarrassing as her understanding of history. For example, in regards to her conception of who are the savages, she describes America as, "...a superlative material achievement in the midst of an untouched wilderness, against the resistance of *savage tribes*." [*For The New Intellectual*, 58; pb 50]

To Rand, the essential characteristic of the state is that it possesses a monopoly on the use of retaliatory force. How does she justify this monopoly of *national sovereignty*? She accepts it as a given, something not requiring a justification, and demands that

an-anarchy, the negation of the proposition, justify itself.

Her concept of national sovereignty is then something transcendental, existing separate and apart from individuals. and beyond the right of the individual to accept or reject according to his or her own reason.

These prepositions clearly place Ayn Rand's philosophy closer to Hobbes, Hegel, and Marx, than to libertarianism.

The state, according to Miss Rand, must hold a monopoly on the enforcement of contracts and the settling of disputes between individuals, at least whenever this arbitration is not accepted by both sides voluntarily. She fails to consider that the enforcement of contracts by the state fundamentally alters the nature of free agreements. Agreements are made on terms which other-



wise might not be, because they are justiciable.

The terms of "free agreements" under law are titled in favor of lenders over debtors, landlords over tenants, employers over employees, in a way which would not exist in a "free market." This leveraging of power is not 'objective' at all. Depending purely on legal convention, creditors may have debtors imprisoned, tenants may be evicted without notice and their effects confiscated, one human being may own another or the land on which another lives and works, all to varying degrees.

To understand Ayn Rand's psychology it is helpful to know her background. She was born to a wealthy St. Petersburg family in 1905. The position of her family in Czarist society must have been considerable. At a time when the lives of most Russians had changed little since feudalism, her family was wealthy enough to afford a French Governess and take regular vacations to the Crimea.

It should be noted that wealth in Czarist society was almost wholly a measure of one's favor with the government. There were few if any Horatio Alger stories about individuals who lifted themselves out of serfdom without the patronage of the Czar.

At the age of twelve, she must have been very upset when those nasty workers took over her father's business. Her family fled St. Petersburg for the Crimea and the protection of the White Army.

This experience rendered her forever incapable of seeing land reform or any struggle of oppressed and exploited people as anything more than hatred for the good and lust for the unearned.

She shared with Marx the bourgeois ideology that only a few people were capable of running things. The masses ought to be happy to have a job working for bosses. Any suggestion that an enterprise could be run by the employees without having someone in charge was to her absurd.

She shared with Godwin and Kropotkin the belief that the individual is born *tabula rasa*—a blank slate, and all human knowledge is derived from sense experience. She then proceeded, however, to completely dismiss environment and socialization as the determining factor in the development of character.

People were to her good or evil, bril-

liant or indolent, depending solely on their volition. People should be judged by their actions with equal severity regardless of their condition. Though she insisted that the United States was not and never had been a completely free country, she granted no such thing as extenuating circumstances when judging an individual and had no qualms upholding the power of the state to inflict capital punishment.

A far more sinister legacy of Ayn Rand to libertarianism is that of a moralizing autocrat who gathered about her an inner circle which she ironically called, "The collective."

Outwardly, this collective professed egoism and individuality. They were to be the vanguard of an intellectual renaissance. The price of admission to this group, however, was slavish conformity of one's life and professed philosophy to Ayn Rand's whims and eccentricities. For example, she did not like men who wore facial hair or listened to Mozart, and if you didn't give them up you were unfit for Rand's inner circle.

This is particularly sinister if one considers that Karl Marx, believed by millions to be the very symbol of liberation, was also an autocrat who, though professed to be the ultimate champion of democracy, resorted to extraordinary means to maintain control of the International Workingmen's Association. He even moved its headquarters to New York to exclude the libertarian influence.

Today Ayn Rand is gone, but like Marx a century ago, hers is the primary influence on the largest libertarian organization existing. Even the pledge which all Libertarian Party members must sign is taken directly from her admonition, "I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."

In spite of their pledge to non-violence, many libertarians are frustrated with election laws and media censorship. An argument which circulates among libertarians of the right is that, if they were more threatening, the government may take steps to accommodate them as it did the black civil rights movement.

Ayn Rand's writings are not entirely consistent on the point of non-violence either. In *The Fountainhead*, Howard Roark resorts to the use of dynamite. In *Atlas Shrugged*, Ragnar Danneskjold

engages in piracy on the high seas and even shells a factory which has been nationalized. In a clandestine rescue mission, Dagny Taggart shoots a guard who stood in the way of her desired end.

In the event of economic upheaval, ruined by unemployment and inflation, tenants and home owners may refuse to make rent and mortgage payments. The unemployed may seize vacant land and begin to farm, and factory workers may realize they can run things without stock holders.

It would not be at all surprising if there were to emerge within the libertarian right, groups committed to direct action and counter revolutionary violence, even a coup d'état.

Imagine a charismatic and autocratic personality at the center of such a group and you have the *Objectivist Lenin*.

Like the Marxists and right libertarians, Lenin and the Objectivists are professed republican democrats. Lenin and the Bolsheviks promised that if given power, they would immediately convoke a constituent assembly. When they realized, however, they would not hold a majority in such an assembly they turned against the idea of such an assembly.

Can anyone doubt that the cultist mentality which characterizes most of Miss Rand's followers could lead to the creation of a group of self appointed avengers of the capitalist class? That they would suppress strikes, demonstrations, and factory take overs? That they would not execute people for crimes against the *libertarian state*?

Ayn Rand believed in a republican form of government with a cleverly constructed constitution which would deny the majority of the power to infringe on the rights of a minority as she conceived them. If the majority supported a general strike against rents and mortgages and supported the factory takeovers, would not the clandestinely organized Objectivist libertarian party be tempted to dispense with democracy in order to enforce what they conceived of as the rights of the dispossessed bourgeoisie?

In all fairness it must be admitted that Ayn Rand herself would never sanction such actions, but the same argument is made everyday by western Marxists that Marx would probably not have sanctioned many of Lenin's actions and would certainly not take credit for the Soviet Union.



Lenin and the Bolsheviks won power by promising, "Land to the peasants!" "Factories to the workers!" When they took power, however, they immediately set about liquidating the factory committees and nationalizing the land. They crushed work place democracy by installing armed guards in the factories, and even returned former owners to their positions as employees of the *worker's state*.

Leon Trotsky stopped the practice of soldiers electing their officers from their ranks and even restored former Czarist officers to their ranks in the Red Army.

When the Russian Revolution began few people clearly understood the gulf which separated the state socialists from the libertarians. Many dedicated libertarians like Alexander Berkman, rallied to the Bolshevik cause, willing to give them the benefit of the doubt in hopes that seizing state power would only be a transitional stage toward the development of the stateless/classless society.

Many sincere lovers of liberty now flock to the standard of the Libertarian Party, as they did the Bolsheviks, completely ignorant of the history of the last century. As Santayanna said: "Those who forget the mistakes of the past are doomed to repeat them."

*What should be done?* It should be obvious that government enforcement of private contracts is not libertarian any more than is taking state power to set people free. Libertarianism is and always will mean socialism—the self emancipation of working people.

Libertarians must stop courting the Republican right and return to their intellectual roots. By standing outside of the political process we deny the state legitimacy, and like the state torturers in *Atlas Shrugged*, they will come and beg for libertarians to take over.

Remembering the experience of the Spanish libertarians, and heeding the advice of John Galt, libertarians must refuse state power even when begged. The state can never be a tool of libera-



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tion. Only its complete and utter collapse will allow for the emergence of non-statist institutions, libertarian coops, communes, and free markets, to flourish and displace the political state once and for all.

## Community Perspectives

By Mark Echt

### TV resurrected!!!

I was skeptical that this *ad hoc* guerilla theater at the Earth Day fair would succeed. Smashing a TV set with a baseball bat in a midwestern town of 60,000 and resisting the Earth Day authorities and any roving cops were expected to be formidable challenges. Further, the original enthusiasm for the idea dissipated—only 4 of the 10 original people interested showed up to

participate in the theater. Most of us wanted some sort of primitive cleansing ritual for the TV (like drumming, dancing, and screaming) to gather attention and then we would proceed in the "technological removal" or "physical exorcism." Unfortunately, we couldn't find anyone to drum.

So plans changed. My disco friend gallantly stood on the large console TV waving the aluminum bat spouting anti-TV epitaphs. A few people heard him. Boom! Boom! He smacked the side of the boob tube. Unexpectedly, one unknown person walked up and asked for a chance "at bat." Before we knew it, there was a community of ardent batters. A collective effort. Passing the bat from person to person the young folks all wanted a try on destroying this technological burden. Quite a festival. "They must be drunk," someone commented. An attentive crowd of 75 gathered, thinking,

talking, but mostly smiling at each thunder of the bat into the sterile wood of the TV. A joyous atmosphere. We handed out flyers made by the Hippycore Crew condemning the technology of TV. A local TV station even covered the event on the spectacle called "evening news." Perhaps we should have sent out media releases. I should have never doubted our chances at success!

Except for one school teacher all of the batters were under 25 years old. This disparity indicates there is a need for adult liberation. Gord H. in *Anarchy* #31 asserts that there is a young-old split in the radical movement in which the youth concentrate on actions and the older generation (usually more committed to family, job, etc.) focus on theory. Why is a 50 year old anarchist less likely to spraypaint buildings for an evening's entertainment than a 20 year old? Does the risk involved supersede the thrill and adventure? Gord H. also discusses the split between theory and action in anarchist journals. The theory behind guerilla theater (and TV bashing) is to stimulate people to think, in this case, about the nature of TV. Obviously the



main focal point of this theater was the TV and so was the main idea of discussion. In our society of the spectacle, the spectacular act of beating on a TV shocks people (same technique that TV itself uses) into paying attention to the statement that is being made. People will remember this event and by its uniqueness will pass it on to friends. Imagine someone standing in front of a microphone droning on about the hazards of TV. If you were in a park on a sunny, warm Earth Day would you listen or tell your friends about it? Moreover, audience participation also helps to stimulate thought and discussion. Our unpreparedness was beneficial in this theater because then we relied on passersby as batters. Passing out the anti-TV flyers while bashing the TV, we mixed the symbol/stimulus with some ideas to consider. Finally besides being a catalyst to education, TV trashing is fun. "Smash the state and masturbate," or as Emma Goldman put it, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution." Above all, I hope the success of the TV smashing inspires others (especially older folks) to creative, provocative (and fun) theater. Write in about what you've done!

## The Funck Report

By E.B. Funck

### Rainbow Gathering 1992, Paonia, Colorado: A mind is a terrible thing to waste.

"Let's not get political about this, brother." -Joe Rainbow

Riding my bike down the continental divide, I met up with a guy in a VW van. I asked if he was headed for the Rainbow Gathering, assuming he was by the look of his van, in hopes of a free ride. His response: "I am *not* a rainbow head." I just looked at him, shrugged my shoulders, and rode off. I wasn't sure what he meant. I should have asked more.

I was welcomed with hugs, "Welcome home brother"s, and good vibes. Who-

ever hugs me and calls me brother is a usurper and a tyrant; I declare them to be my enemy! I didn't think it would be appropriate to tell these seemingly friendly people to fuck off, but they did seem very insincere. An even mix of young rastafarian hippies, college-liberal-hippies, and older road dog types—they were all there. However, I did notice an overwhelming number of people named 'Shanti'. Maybe I just camped too close to the Krishnas.

I expected a Rainbow Gathering to be all kinds of people, from feminists to environmentalists to anarchists, having workshops and talking about stuff. However, I discovered it was actually a gathering of "The Rainbow Family of Living Light." Living light? No discussions, no workshops, just drugs. All kinds of drugs. And since money is frowned upon by these enlightened folks, you must barter things like snickers bars for drugs. What a great alternative to the money economy—like going into town and buying a fucking bag of snickers really makes a bit of difference. It also seemed ironic that these people objected to money, because there were at least 5,000 cars parked up in the mountains, as if cars aren't a major contributor to the U.S. economy and the destruction of natural environments. Maybe I missed something—you tell me.

I was thoroughly impressed with everyone's willingness to give and follow orders. I've always noticed a tendency for older hippie types to have a know-it-all attitude, and a corresponding attitude among people in 'alternative' and activist groups to trust them, and I was very aware of this situation at the gathering. It also corresponds with the general lack of originality I noticed at the gathering; there was little spontaneity, much spirituality. Most of the people I spoke with believed in god; I know because, slicker than a born again, these people worked references to god in the first words I had with them. Not your usual god, but a warm, fuzzy New Age one. Funny thing is, a lot of people also told me they were anarchists. They would then go on to explain how they have incorporated basic principles of anarchy with Timothy Leary's seven levels, or layers, as it may be, of consciousness, or some such shit. What can you say to people like this...?

In discussions around campfires, it's a good idea to go along with the "party

line" of peace and love, else you're likely to be accused of being political. Which is even more ironic, because despite the "peace and love" rhetoric, people had stuff stolen, there were fights, and even a number of rapes.

While I wasn't in my tent hiding from all the Krishnas, the Christians, or the cosmic consciousness gatherers, I was bitching to my friends, much like I am right now. All I could think about was ruining these people's fun, because they sure had ruined mine. Actually, the whole thing would have been sort of comical if I hadn't ridden my bike all that way just to get there. If you have an easy way to leave, it would be an interesting experience, if not a depressing one, to see so many people wrapped up in new age purity and the mindlessness of their "peace and love."

## Satellite demolished

*Continued from page 7*

members has dealt a serious blow of equipment loss, cost, delay, public exposure, political-psychological challenge, and a dangerous example of strategic resistance to Navstar GPS and the corporate war machine.

We act in solidarity with all those who rise up to disarm the elites and warmakers, to defend the Earth and people, from the Amazon Basin to Big Mountain, from Beijing to Baghdad, from El Salvador to California. If we are to survive, ordinary people must begin to wage nonviolent resistance and sabotage of the corporate war machine at the levels of strategic seriousness and risk that soldiers everywhere seem only too ready to accept for war. We consider all who do so as members of this brigade if they choose to identify with it.

*The preceding is an edited portion of a statement issued May 12, 1992 by Peter Lumsdaine and Keith Kjoller, two days after they gained access to the Seal Beach Rockwell facility, where a satellite was awaiting shipment, and attacked Navstar GPS space vehicle #33 with an axe. Rockwell officials at one point estimated costs to be at least \$2 million. (A Rockwell official said of the incident, "It doesn't make any sense to me. I liken it to breaking into a hospital and wrecking equipment used for health care.") Kjoller and Lumsdaine were released on bail, and at their arraignment in Santa Ana U.S. District Court, both pleaded not guilty to felony charges of "injuring property being manufactured for the U.S. government." However, as part of a plea bargain, they pled guilty to the charges on July 13. If convicted, the two men each face a maximum of 10 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. Their attorney is Leonard Weinglass; for legal information, call 415-824-0214. Kjoller and Lumsdaine may travel throughout California and are available to discuss this action. Contributions to organizing against NAVSTAR and in support of this action may be made to "Stop First Strike/ LAC" at P.O. Box 11645, Berkeley, CA. 94701-2645. For further information, Keith Kjoller can be contacted at the same address.*



## Have something to say? Write us!

We would like to encourage you to write us in order to continue this dialogue, whether you are sympathetic or critical of anarchist theories and practices. All letters to *Anarchy* will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in *Anarchy*—as in the case of an author of an essay or creator of artwork published here.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable or excessively boring. (Ellipses in italicized brackets indicate most editorial omissions.) Please limit length to four double-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. We look forward to hearing from you!

### Real men are rapists

Feral Faun argues that the graffitied statement "Men Rape" is a "litany for the feminist version of the ideology of victimization," that it, along with much of feminist discourse, "reinforces the idea that 'women are essentially victims' (*Anarchy* #32, p.32). I would suggest that the slogan "Men Rape" is more accurately understood as *anti*-ideological, and as a reasonable part of the attempt to end rape and sexist oppression.

How could the statement "Men Rape" essentialize women as victims when, first of all, it is not even about women? As written (with no specific direct object) the slogan reflects the reality that not just women, but also children, animals, and men are raped in this society. The quite different statement "women are raped," could more plausibly be argued to essentialize women as victims. "Women are raped" feeds into the common idea that women who are raped instigate this by their behavior—the way they dress, where they go and when, etc. The formula "Men Rape" rejects such ideological support for rape by naming the agents who commit rape and who are responsible for it. "Men rape," by entailing that rapes really happen, also challenges the rapist ideology that rapes do *not* happen—that women who say no really mean yes, that deep down women really want to be conquered, that wives and hookers cannot be raped, that 'rape' is only a woman who changes her mind later.

Through the generality of its

subject, "Men Rape" is also anti-ideological in its refusal of the rape-perpetuating dogma that only a narrow selection of men rape (such as, deranged or frustrated men in dark alleys). In fact, there is no subclass of men in this society that is immune from the tendency to rape. Black and white, gay and straight, working-class and rich, politically right and left (even anarchist), young and old, married and unmarried, psychologically 'normal' and 'abnormal'—men rape. Nor is rape restricted to certain locations or relationships. Feral Faun clearly misses this when he claims that women reading the graffiti "probably walk the streets more fearfully." The slogan does not say "Men rape strangers on the streets." By not specifying the location or relationship, the slogan reflects the fact that men rape on the streets *and* in cars, houses, businesses, etc.; that men rape strangers *and* acquaintances, neighbors, friends, dates, wives, hookers, lovers, sons, daughters & other relatives, colleagues, employees, students, patients, etc.

But if "Men Rape" does not essentialize women as victims, doesn't it, perhaps just as objectionably, essentialize men as oppressors? Feral Faun claims that neither he nor any of his "be-penisated" friends have ever even desired to rape anyone, so isn't "Men Rape" an over-generalization? Not really, because, as Feral Faun's terminology correctly implies, to have a penis is not necessarily to be a man. Simone de Beauvoir pointed out forty years ago that women are not born, they are made. Simi-

larly, being born with a penis is necessary, but not sufficient, for becoming a man. If manhood were simply possession of a penis then statements such as "he's not much of a man," or "why can't you be more of a man?" would not make any sense. Manhood must be achieved. To be a real man one must approach certain ideals of masculinity which vary between times and places but which lately include: hiding emotion, eating meat, begetting sons, 'providing' for one's family, and, most saliently, exerting dominance over others, including sexual dominance as in raping and fucking (the latter of which simultaneously means "having sexual intercourse with" and "exerting hostile dominance over"). So it is part of the essence of man to rape, as the social category of manhood is currently constructed. A reasonable response to this for anti-authoritarians with penises today is to reject ideals of male dominance by refusing to identify ourselves as men (as in the title of John Stoltenberg's book, *Refusing to Be a Man*). This complements the refusal by some people with vaginas to identify themselves as women (a refusal symbolized in writing by spellings such as 'womyn' or 'wimmin') so long as this society continues to define women in terms of relations of submission to men.

Even so, since the standard expectation is that every human with a penis will or should become a man, the term 'man' is often applied to any adult with a penis, whether or not he has yet proven his manhood. If 'men' is understood as equivalent to "adult humans with penises," then the statement "Men Rape" is an over-generalization, since some adult humans with penises do not rape. But is it an objectionable over-generalization? Compare the statement "Drunk drivers kill." Not all drunk drivers kill, but since we cannot tell ahead of time which will kill and which won't, this over-generalization could have the practical benefit of moving us to take precautions to avoid drunk driving altogether. Similarly, since there are no overt signs distinguishing be-penisated rapists from

be-penisated non-rapists, the slogan "Men Rape" could have the salutary effect of enjoining us not to assume personal safety too readily.

Contrary to Feral Faun's argument, such encouragement of caution does not create "a fear of forces both too large and too abstract for the individual to deal with." By refuting the dogmas that rape does not happen or that women cause rape, the recognition that men rape allows the conscious development of fairly simple and concrete steps which help individuals defend themselves against rape, such as: examination of the way norms of femininity make women vulnerable to rape (e.g. clothing which restricts movement such as high-heeled shoes and tight skirts, the learned disinclination to hit or yell, etc.), organization of physical and self-defense training (including how to punch and kick, and education concerning the physical vulnerabilities of those with penises), and formation of autonomous women's shelters. Feral Faun's suggestion that we deal with situations *as they occur* because "fear of an actual, immediate, readily identified threat to an individual can motivate intelligent action to eradicate the threat" is totally inadequate and basically a recipe for maintaining the patriarchal status quo. Because of socialized and structurally supported vulnerability, women and children who do nothing to confront rape until its threat is immediate will in general be ill-equipped to defend themselves.

Nor is Feral Faun correct in asserting that the recognition that men rape creates "a climate of fear, suspicion and paranoia which makes the mediations which are the network of social control seem necessary and even good." Quite the opposite. Self-defense training, motivated by the recognition that men rape, decreases fear and increases self-reliance. And the realization that men from all sectors of society and of all political persuasions rape and adhere to rapist ideology lessens the tendency to depend for protection on husbands or on male-dominated courts and police departments. Thus the formation of autonomous



women's shelters, which increase the power of individual women by providing a temporary haven from abusive men. Such feminist organization does threaten a patriarchal system which depends for its continuation on isolated women each dependent on a husband or boyfriend.

Feral Faun's argument that the slogan "Men Rape" essentializes women as victims and "promotes individual weakness" is doublespeak, a complete reversal of reality, since the recognition that men rape is a necessary precursor to taking those practical steps which can lessen and eventually end the real victimization caused by patriarchal men. Rather than naming and fighting the oppressors, Feral Faun advises that we simply accept "the strength of our own passions and desires" and "be crazed and laughing monsters," a suggestion which seems uncomprehending of the reality of life under patriarchy. Certainly rapists are not 'repressing' their passion for eroticized domination. And I imagine that the first priority of most of those subject to systematic beatings, rape, incest (i.e. daughter- and son-rape), reproductive control, gynocide and other forms of sexual violence is not to unchain their desires but to *get that fucker off their backs*, a goal which is not achievable without the insistence that *Men Rape*.

Brian Luke

205 Wilson

Blacksburg, VA. 24060

### **Feral Faun responds: Get real**

Brian Luke's reaction to aspects of my article on the ideology of victimization does have a certain logic to it.... Too bad that his logic is based on ideological feminism rather than on concrete reality. I'm not that interested in discoursing with someone who strives to defend the ideology of victimization by denying that it is what it is, but I will respond in hopes that maybe Brian or others blinded by some version of this ideology will begin to face reality.

Brian Luke chooses to forget that graffiti exists in the real world, not in some ideal netherworld where no one is affected by the



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dominant social ideologies which determine how they'd interpret it. In the real world, a simplistic, totally unanalyzed generalization such as "Men Rape" is an ideological statement—on the same level as "Women are manipulative bitches" or "Black people are lazy." All of these statements are equally false and harmful, because all identify individuals as merely part of a category and then cast judgment on that category which condemns everyone placed in it. But such short, pithy generalizations are quite useful for reinforcing ideologies—just look at the power of advertising and political/patriotic slogans.

One of the tools of ideology in this society is categorization in terms of dualities. One such duality, that we are taught from birth is that of gender, that is, the man/woman duality. So to make a generalization about men is to imply something about women to most people. Most people who see "Men Rape" will also see "Women Are Raped" by implication—just as the phrase "Adults Rape" would

make most people think "Children Are Raped." This is part of how we have been trained to think, part of the ideological baggage of this society. If Brian or the writer of this graffiti have chucked this baggage—which I greatly doubt—wonderful! But most people haven't and neither that graffiti nor Brian's ideological blindness do anything to challenge this.

"Men Rape" does *not* name the agents of rape. It is a statement straight out of some platonic ideal universe—to put it more plainly, by speaking in such general terms, it removes rape from the real world and turns it into an abstraction to be used for ideological purposes. In 1977, while hitchhiking, I was almost raped. What I experienced was an individual attempting to attack me, another individual, sexually. And that, not "Men Rape," is the reality of rape. Generalities of the same sort as "Men Rape" have been the ideological basis of all racist and fascist movements—and all such movements have been (among other things) violent and extreme ex-

pressions of the ideology of victimization.

Thanks to the media, most people *do* associate rape, assault and murder with strangers in the streets no matter how much reality contradicts this. So, once again, merely writing "Men Rape" says to most women walking down the street, especially at night: "You might be raped by any one of these men you see passing you on the street." And that does produce fear, a fear of something too abstract to be easily faced. Once again, Brian assumes people to be freer of the ideological chains of this society than most people are.

According to the gender ideology of this society, all adults with penises are 'men'. Nearly everyone, including most anarchists and feminists, accept this. This is why Oregon Women's Land doesn't allow any male over twelve years old to remain on the land, even if his mother lives there. So most people will interpret "Men Rape" as "Adults with penises Rape." This reaches its extremity in Andrea Dworkin's "All penetration is rape," a statement which turns all women who enjoy sexual intercourse with men into complicit victims, i.e., masochists—funny how an ideology can twist around to become what it claims to oppose.

By equating the slogan "Men Rape" with "Drunk Drivers Kill," Luke implies that the slogan is intended to create fear and distrust—and the people to be feared and distrusted are 'men'. I don't know how we are ever to achieve intelligent, free interaction when we are perpetually taught to distrust each other. But maybe a bigger problem revealed by this comparison is that just as "Drunk Drivers Kill" helps distract attention from an analysis of automotive technology and the society that produces this death-dealing technology, so "Men Rape" distracts attention from an analysis of the ideology of gender and the society which produces this ideology.

The existence of rape is obvious to all but a very few hard-core misogynists. It is talked about in such ancient writings as the old testament, Hesiod and Homer, as well as in tales of non-literate people. In Western society, awareness of rape has been used in such a way as to keep women timid and



dependent. The streets, the woods, dark alleys—all have been places women were traditionally to avoid because they might be raped. In our times, the media have made people "more aware" of crime in general with the result that many people would rather cower in their homes in front of their TV than go out alone, avoid encounters with strangers, and actually beg the government for more cops to protect them. The slogan "Men Rape" plays right into this tendency. It is not slogans like "Men Rape" that have moved a few people to act for themselves. But, because of the ideology of victimization that permeates feminism, feminist responses to rape and other forms of gender oppression usually amount to little more than mutual commiseration and begging the authorities for more protection.

It is the restriction of knowledge—mostly through ideology, including feminist ideology—and not dealing with situations as they occur, which maintains patriarchy and every other form of authority by making an immediate, intelligent response to a situation virtually impossible. If Brian would take off his ideological blinders for a moment, he would see that I never implied that no one should ever be prepared for anything. Just the opposite. Since I want everyone to be all that they are capable of being, always pushing at the limits, I advocate getting as much knowledge as possible. But knowledge doesn't come from simplistic, unanalyzed generalizations. These are ways of limiting knowledge by limiting our ability to experience.

In the real world, recognition of a threat only leads to self-reliance when the threat is clearly understood and one is convinced they have the strength to face it. "Men Rape" and the rest of the litany of victimization neither clarify anything nor strengthen any individuals. This is why the vast majority of women, including most feminists, respond to an awareness of rape not by learning self-defense, but by avoiding going out alone at night (often insisting that a man accompany them), warning other women against adventuring and asking for more protection from the "male-dominated courts and police departments." This may not

## AROUND THE WORLD EVERYWHERE YOU LOOK FREEDOM IS ALWAYS AGAINST THE LAW

Drug Prohibition Laws / Age-of-Consent Laws / Property Laws / Trespassing Laws / Anti-Sodomy Laws / Tax Laws / Draft Laws / Censorship Laws / White Privilege Laws / Anti-Pornography Laws / Sedition Laws / Vagrancy Laws / Hitchhiking Laws / Indecency Laws / Obscenity Laws / Licensing Laws / Truancy Laws / Building Code and Zoning Laws / Anti-Skateboarding Laws / Loitering Laws / Patriarchal Privilege Laws / Marriage Laws / Child Vaccination Laws / Parade Permit Laws / Voting Laws / F.C.C. Laws / National Security Laws / National Emergency Laws / Anti-Strike Laws / Anti-Privacy Laws / Search and Seizure Laws / Anti-Graffiti Laws / Anti-Posting Laws / Anti-Abortion Laws / Anti-Riot Laws / Conspiracy Laws / Criminal Syndicalism Laws / Trade Laws / Vandalism Laws / Divorce Laws / Vice Laws / Bicycle Laws / Jaywalking Laws / Gun Laws / Heresy Laws /

L.C. (Columbia, MO.).

be the idealized world inside the box of Brian's version of male feminist ideology where women aren't living, breathing individuals, but are heroic feminist gods destroying the evil patriarchy. But this is the real world where we all have been taught to be shy little mice—and where most of us, including most anarchists and feminists, still act that way.

So if doublespeak is proclaiming as real those fantasies which support one's ideology and proclaiming that ideology to be its opposite, Brian Luke is a master of it. This mastery forces him to blind himself to the way most people 'think' in this society and to project his clique's ideology onto everyone. It forces him to quote key phrases from my article out of

context in order to put words in my mouth that I've never said. And causes him to ignore the main thrust of my argument and deal with just one point, because to deal with all I'd really said would expose the victimism in his ideology. If Brian had had a real awareness of the nature of this society, he'd know that patriarchy is only one facet of the many-faceted system of domination (matriarchy, in the literal sense of "rule by mothers" is another facet, as anyone who honestly examines their childhood knows) and that only "crazed and laughing monsters" would ever have the strength to destroy this system. Those whose primary goal is simply to "get that fucker off their back" are thinking as victims. In placing their empha-

sis on simply eradicating their enemy rather than on living their passions and desires to the fullest extent possible (a process that would include destroying whatever oppresses one), they are letting their enemy define them and that is the ideology of victimization. I certainly will not let myself be held back by their limits, and I will fight the ideology of victimization wherever I see it.

For interesting, straight-forward, experience-based critiques of feminism as a victimist ideology, I recommend *I, Claudia* and *Love Lies Bleeding* available from BM Claudia, London WC1N 3XX, England. I'm not sure of the cost.

### Blank-stared flunkies

Dear *Anarchy*,

Remember the *RSL*? The *Revolutionary Socialist League* was the 'former' Trotskyist organization that was behind the creation of the anarcho-vanguardist 'newspaper', *Love and Rage*. I have noticed that there has been a dramatic drop off in the accusations of *RSL* control of *Love and Rage* in the recent letters pages of *Anarchy* and *Fifth Estate*. Those who do not have their eyes open may attribute this to the 'fact' that former *RSL* members are no longer very prominent in the so called *Love and Rage Network*. They will cite such 'facts' as:

- No former *RSL* members on the *Love and Rage Network* Coordinating Group (read Central Committee).

- Only one former *RSL* member on the Production Group.

- No former *RSL* members at the recent *Love and Rage Network* Council Meeting.

I have heard all these things from one of the *Love and Rage* zombies. Of course these blank-stared flunkies never tell you how the *RSL* is really exercising control of the *Love and Rage Network*: **BRAIN TRANSPLANTS!** Members of the *Love and Rage Vanguard Party* often claimed that the *RSL* was made up of older 'activists' who were unable to maintain the level of activity that they had in the past and that is one reason they decided to support/create *Love and Rage*. That is only half the



picture. The real reason for the RSL's interest in young anarchists is their desire to transplant their brains from their older bodies into the younger fresher anarchist bodies. If you have seen the movie "They Saved Hitler's Brain" you know this can be done. Already a number of RSL members have successfully had their brains transplanted into the bodies of members of the *Love and Rage Coordinating Group* (you can tell which ones by their new 'haircuts').

The brain transplant method of RSL control is obvious to any close observer of the Trotskyist cabal that is the *Love and Rage Network*. What is more disturbing is the silence of *Anarchy* and *Fifth Estate* on this issue. At first I could only come to the conclusion that your projects too have come under the control of the RSL. But through my use of telepathic imaging I was able to determine that none of the handful of people working on either journal had the telltale 'haircut'. This forced me to dig deeper.

What I discovered will be a shock to many of those who have made it their crusade to expose the *Love and Rage Vanguard Party* and its chairman Ned 'Leon' Day. The whole question of RSL control of *Love and Rage* is really a diversion from the much larger plot of humanoid space aliens to control the whole anarchist 'scene' and to use it as a conduit for human 'meat' to be consumed by these very aliens. While they have focused our attention on the crude (and easily seen) brain transplant activities of the RSL, these aliens have quietly taken control of the whole anarchist press to accumulate addresses of potential human-burgers. One by one prominent anti-authoritarians have been replaced by human-like robots (not unlike Data on the new "Star Trek"), and their bodies have been consumed by the aliens. The aliens are able to appear human themselves (except when they sleep like bats hanging from the ceiling), with the result that anytime three 'anarchists' get together one is likely to be a robot, one is likely to be an alien, and the remaining one is likely to be

turned into a burger. It is in this context that *Love and Rage's* obsession with 'organizing' becomes clear: by bringing together 'anarchists' they are really feeding the aliens. The only way we can stop this menace is by refusing to meet with each other until the aliens starve to death (which I estimate could take 7 years because of their very slow metabolisms).

For Anarchy Without Aliens,  
Lee Harvey Czolgosz  
(not my real name!!!)  
Motel 6, Earth

Ps. I realize that it is very unlikely that you will print this letter. For that reason I have sent it to seventeen other anarchists who will watch the pages of your 'journal' (read: *menu*) to see if you really adhere to your "print everything" policy. If you fail to print this letter your true nature will be exposed. I expect that if you do print my letter you will use your powers of "Lev responds" to try to discredit my claims. Your days are numbered. Don't think you can track me down by looking at the postmark on this letter either. I am staying in a different motel every night and will be far away when you get this letter.

[What makes you think that being metabolized by space aliens is such an undesirable end? -Lev aka Jason]

## Netherlands news

[...] Vrije Bond (Free Union) is an organization as follow up to BCS (which was an industrial organization federated in the federation of industrial organizations OVB [ $\pm 10,000$  members]). We have been put outside of OVB for being too anarchistic and non-understanding of the workers' daily life.

Vrije Bond has just 180 members. Most are jobless (doing their activities), or working as social workers, teachers, or in private small enterprises like printing houses. We try to keep together the ideals of self-management and syndicalism. We don't think about growing fast, as such is only possible by promising something & having financial advantages as in the main

large trade-unions (like insurance). Our publication is called *Buiten de Orde* (*Outside the Order*).

The above is one of my activities. Others (perhaps once again): For LAS (national @ cooperation network). Regular monthly A-info bulletin (with short common and activist news). Irregular pro-IWA/AIT bulletin. International contact for Vrije Bond and LAS. The @ publication from Amsterdam called *Raaf* (*Raven*). And selling now and then anarchist books (Dutch, English, German).

Daily issues here: Refugees/ illegals legitimization/identification plight (as part of European 'unification') but also to catch all the football hooligans, 'black' travellers, 'black' workers (what about the top criminals), diminishing hiring (decrease) of Social Democratic Party, ecology—ground water, acid rain (forest), in agriculture.

All the best—health,  
strength, pleasure—greetings,  
K.M. Kreuger  
PB. 61523  
2506 AM, Den Haag  
Netherlands

## Squatting in Missouri

I was housesitting a trailer for a friend in an isolated rural area. The owner of the trailer would return soon & would need to find a new place to live. I wanted to stay in the area, but had just about nothing in money or way to make it.

I was discussing the situation with a neighbor. He was an old hippie, he has lived in the same commune that I had lived in, on and off. He'd moved to this area years ago & knew where everything was.

He told me of all the house rental situations he knew of in the area, along with who used to live there & where they are now. It was (and is) an economically depressed area, & there were lots of empty places—many of the owners were out of town or out of state, raising the money to pay off their country retirement homes, but even though all the prices were cheap by comparison, they were still too much to me.

He poured me a cup of coffee

and paused a moment. "Too bad you're not into squatting," he said.

"What? Too bad I'm not into squatting? Who says I'm not?" I thought.

"Well, right across the road here is the old Stone place. You can't see it from the road. Mike & Diane tried to rent it a few years back, they found out who owned it & all & were all set to put the money down when the old lady said, No, she didn't say why, she just didn't want to.

"The place is owned by this old lady in Little Spring named Eileen Stone. She used to live there with her husband and he died & left it to her; well, she left & went to live in one of those little retirement houses in Little Spring. She put it in her will to leave the property to some preacher in Gainesville, well, he died, and so I guess it will go to his wife when Eileen kicks off. I think that's the only person Eileen ever talks to anymore; Eileen went nuts & she never comes out to see the place, doesn't even answer her phone or her door.

"You could just move in, & probably no one would ever notice."

"What? whoa whoa I don't know if I could, no I couldn't. What would I do if the old lady does come down there?"

"Just say, don't you remember, Eileen, you said I could stay here if I took care of your azaleas."

"Oh, I don't know if I could do a thing like that."

When I left he took me to see it. There was a barely noticeable overgrown driveway going off of the dirt road. It lead down into a hollow and ran partly parallel to a creek, down in through the woods until it finally opens up to a house. There was a big log cabin, a few fence remnants & dead barns, and an unlivable in trailer. We looked at it briefly & left.

"Oh, its beautiful, but..."

I didn't go back there for several months. I went back to the commune, and left again, travelled a little till I got sick of travelling and wanted to come back to the area.

Brought a boyfriend back with me and we stayed in the trailer



for a while. The windows were unopenable in the house & it was summer—otherwise the house would have been nicer. The trailer, though never lived in, had been a little torn up by vandals, and we were often visited by wasps who had moved in long before us.

We didn't have a TV or a radio or a guitar or a stove or a vehicle. We hauled drinking water from a neighbor's dairy barn after the creek water proved sickening.

We cooked over a campfire and hitchhiked to town.

The short-haired religious dairy farmer told us how to hook up the electricity ourselves but we never did do it.

We met another of our neighbors who picked us up hitching. "Oh, you're out at the old Stone place," the old lady said. "I grew up right across the creek from there. Are y'all renting the place?"

"We're taking care of it for the owner," my boyfriend said.

"Well, we haven't actually heard back from the owner." I said "I wrote her some time back and told her, look, this is a really nice piece of property and someone should take care of it & keep it from being ripped-off and vandalized, but I never heard back from her, so I moved on in." It was true.

"How nice," the old couple said. "Y'all want to come over & get some tomatoes?"

Me & my boyfriend took off for the West Coast in search of money. Found lots of adventures, but little money. We broke up & got back together couple of times and we split for good. I headed back to the house.

I worked on moving into the house before winter. There was mostly a lot of cleaning up to do—mouse shit & dust everywhere, torn wallpaper, peeling old paint, grease stains and everything smelled old & musty. I could see how it could give the old lady the creeps. But it didn't have broken windows & it wasn't falling apart structurally. It was just ugly from age & neglect.

But first I had to cut some grass. My neighbor loaned me a grass hook. It was small but it

was all I had so I used it.

One day I started to go out & cut grass without a shirt on. I didn't though cause I figured if I did sure enough someone would come down the driveway. Someone did anyway. I looked up from cutting grass to see a long blue gray car come down.

Hmmm. It's not the police. It's not my boyfriend come back to see me. No one I know.

What if it's the owner?

The woman in the car drove past me, up to the trailer & turned the car around.

What if it's *not* the owner?

I'll tell her what I've been telling everyone else.

She was a middle-class middle-aged woman. "Do you know this land belongs to Eileen Stone?"

"Yeah, I'm taking care of the place for the owner."

"I am the owner," she said.

Eek! Turned out to be the preacher's wife. "It's actually still Eileen's land while she's alive."

Quick, I said to myself, time for the great defense speech you've been rehearsing in your head all this time, all that stuff about land ownership and wasted resources and gee I'm just one of those homeless people trying to scratch out a living in the middle of nowhere.

I started to say part of it, but she cut me off before I could begin. "What's your name?" I told her. "Didn't you write me a few months ago?" Yes, that's me I said.

"Well, I thought it would be a good idea to have someone out here taking care of the property, you know, especially to make sure no one grows any pot out here on the land, but Eileen doesn't want anyone out here for some reason. So I just won't tell her you're here, OK?"

My jaw dropped open.

"I think the garden was over there," she said & pointed. "Just please don't grow any pot out here. It would get back to Eileen & it wouldn't look good." "Take care of yourself, bye."

I gave her a hug & waved her off.

I wimped out. I didn't stay through the winter. Insufficient funds and insufficient survival skills. Maybe the scenario would work better with a group of

people instead of just one, or with more tools & other resources.

And my friends all said I would end up going to jail.

L.J., Cave Junction, OR.

## More active elements

Hello people at *Anarchy*,

Enclosed are some direct action flyers for your use. If you can't put these in your 'zine I urge you to give them to someone who can use them. The boycott of the ballot box is semi-organized right now, but I am doing what I can to make people aware. Your paper is excellent, but at times I would like to see more active elements, like the cool picture of the cops on the back or how about some views on direct action, black blocs & the like. I was at the pro-choice rally in D.C. and our bloc had a good time distributing 'zines & literature, while attacking & destroying part of Operation Rescue's fake cemetery. But people need to communicate more effectively during these acts & marches. [...] Thank you.

In solidarity,

@ Better World

POB 1834

Albany, NY. 12201-1834

## IWW opportunism?

[Note: Our apologies for losing this letter from May, 1991. Here it is at long last.]

Dear Lev,

I picked up the spring *Anarchy* [#28] at New World Resource Center in Chicago. Glad to see the SF General Strike poster on page 4.

You've got it wrong when you accuse the IWW of opportunism for working with Earth First! The alliance seems pretty natural if you recognize that wealth is not produced by the bosses but by workers labor combined with the earth's resources. You don't tell us what evidence you base your conclusions on but I can offer this brief history.

In May '88 the *Industrial Worker* published a special issue about EF! This sparked discussion in the IWW about class consciousness in the ecology movement and ecological con-

sciousness in the labor movement. (See for example "Greening the IWW" in Oct. '89 *IW*.)

In Sept. '88 EF!er and ex-factory worker Judi Bari gave a well received workshop on the IWW at an EF! Rendezvous. Bari joined the union and took part in forming an IWW branch (Local #1) in the timber towns of N. California.

In 1990 EF!, IWW, Seeds of Peace and others organized Redwood Summer which began with an IWW picket line. An ecologically conscious Local #2 began to form near St. Louis. The Tucson based right wing of EF! left EF! complaining of class war leftists and angry about feminism. The New York based right wing of the IWW partly left the union complaining about ecologists and angry about feminism.

As to "One Big Union" that's not a prophesy. It's something to apply at work—get everyone in one union and take on the boss.

The IWW advocated a worker controlled, ecologically conscious timber industry in the '20s. It's working for the same now. Syndicalists and anarcho-syndicalists around the world recognize the eco-terror of development and the need to change the workplaces and products.

There are those who say "the IWW is EF! for working people" or "EF! is the Wobblies of the environmental movement." There is much in common. Or as Bari says, "the Wobbly philosophy is direct action on the job and the Earth First! philosophy is direct action on the earth. It's not a coincidence that there's an alliance between the IWW & Earth First!."

Solidarity,  
M.S.J., Chicago, IL.

Jason responds:

## The IWW is a typical leftist political racket

Looking over the issue in question, I have to assume you are referring to the brief mention of the IWW in a footnote to my review of Mitchell Halberstadt's *Anarchy and Civilization* (*Anarchy* #28, p.8). In that footnote I said that "the brazen opportunism of the IWW...during the last couple years in its 'alliance' with elements



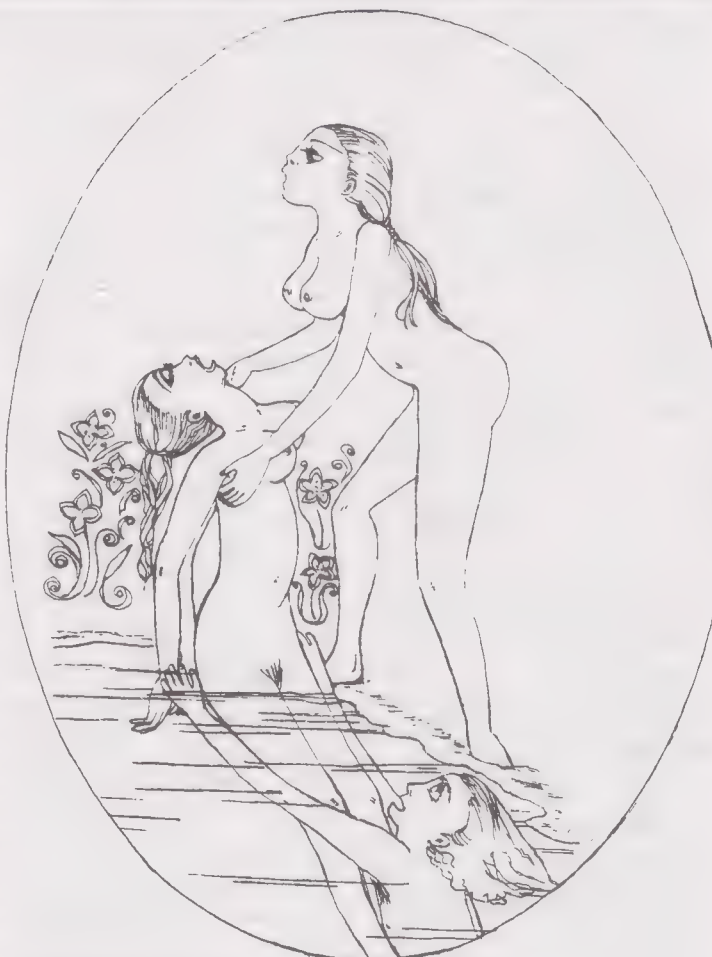
of Earth First! is unlikely to fool very many ecological radicals into joining its 'One Big Union' crusade." The three reasons I referred to it as "brazen opportunism" are:

(1) From what I learned about the IWW's flip-flop to a position in support of EF! from a couple eco-wobblers at the EF! California Rendezvous in '88, it was certainly not the result of widespread discussion leading to a participatory democratic decision of the membership to develop a completely new line and to pursue a completely new direction (during a discussion session after their presentation at the rendezvous they were forced to apologize for the IWW's manipulative tactics in this regard);

(2) Instead, the change in IWW line appeared to be the result of a decision by an elite faction in the organization which attempted to speak in the name of the whole membership in the *Industrial Worker*, much to many members' consternation—there were accusations at the time that the opposition holding to the IWW's traditional line was largely censored out of the *IW*, and that the organization's decision-making procedures were cynically circumvented (I imagine that this was not all just a one-way power struggle, since at one point in the last few years I recall that production funds were withheld from the *IW* by another part of the union bureaucracy);

3) While the *IW* articles announcing the change in IWW orientation and the 'alliance' with EF! spoke in an incredibly pandering manner in an attempt to portray EF! and IWW as 'natural' allies which were both suffering persecution by nefarious forces—and by implication, anyone who opposed this instant shotgun marriage of EF! and IWW on whatever grounds, was associating her/himself with those malevolent forces. This point can be readily verified by anyone who takes the trouble to examine the first few *IW* issues in which the new line was promoted.

In fact, the IWW operates, and has probably always operated, as a typical leftist political racket (now with ecological pretensions) in its everyday theory and practice. As an organization, it projects a spectacular public face, largely through its paper, the *Industrial*



"The Rescue." By Marie Catherine (Columbus, OH.).

*Worker*, through which its current members hope to market an image of revolt in order to seduce new members to serve as cannon fodder for struggles to rebuild the greatness of the organization. The "One Big Union" idea represents in IWW theory the totalitarian goal which the organization pursues in practice, seeking to use any opportunity to expand IWW influence at the expense of its political competitors. Organizational reproduction (including financial maintenance of its bureaucracy & proprietary maintenance of its most valuable asset, its pre-WWI history) takes precedence over any radical actions most of its members might by accident ever find themselves involved in. (I say most, not all, since I do know of one member who is genuinely interested in radical activity first, and organizational reproduction only secondarily.) If anyone has more information on the organizational duplicities of the IWW and its factions, including the origins of the IWW/

EF! 'alliance', I invite you to write about them for this letter column.

For those interested in a more developed critique of leftist organizations as political rackets (or gangs), I suggest checking out a copy of Gianni Collu & Jacques Cammatte's *On Organization* (available for \$1.00 postpaid from C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446).

## News from Germany,

### Hello *Anarchy*,

Got your issue #30 and was surprised. Your "Alternative Media Review," the letters (and answers) were very interesting.

[...] I will tell you a little bit about Germany at the moment:

5.4.91: Diet-election in Baden-Wurtemberg and Schleswig-Holstein. The fascist parties get 12% (BW) and 6.8% (SH). In the evening we went to the parliament here in Kiel (chief town here in S-H). We tried to go inside, wrangling with cops (they

had panic in their eyes) about an hour. Then we demonstrated with 500-800 people in the city. At the time five cop car windows and all the windows of a fascist bookshop were smashed. It's important to know, that the fascist scum (militants, skinheads, hooligans, not parties) are terrorizing some of the small towns here in S-H. Many people have been injured in the last two months (anti-fascists, punks, hippies, colored people—I think you say Black people?).

In Haehoe (40 km to the north of Hamburg) Nazis tried to open a public house (Kneipe). The name "Zum Toten Juden" (= "Dead Jew"). For the town daddies this was too much and they forbid it. Now the Nazis are taking it to court. Anti-fascists smashed this hated place. The new name: "Zum Kelten." Now every weekend there are 40 Nazi skins there who try to find black people or anti-fascists (or people who look like they're not German). Sorry, I feel my hate—the 20th of April is in some days, it's Hitler's birthday and we will have much to do. I stop here, it's enough.

Perhaps you heard about Hoyerswerda, the "first German town without foreigners." State and fascists fight against political refugees. New laws for quicker deportation, central assembly camps and permanent agitation, old Konzentrationslager should be going for supermarkets, census inspection at the beginning of March for all seeking asylum (to find illegals, ha ha) here in S-H.

In Nordshedt (next to Haehoe) refugees (first from other countries, then from towns in East Germany due to attacks by fascists & hooligans) occupied a church. Socialdemokrats (party in power in S-H) and the church started agitating against them and their supporters. The TV/newspapers helped. Most refugee supporters were people from the 'Autonomen'. At the end out of 80 refugees, 15 came back. 8 of them started a hungerstrike, but one night they left! (because the cops were coming the next day to arrest them). Some things in the church were destroyed—which was not so nice, because the media took this to show how



bad we are. (Nothing against destroying churches, better today than in the next life, but I think here here's the difference. The refugees & some supporters didn't know about this action, and this was a fight of refugees, the public meaning and support was very important and Autonomie kinds of support there hard to discuss. Many bad criticisms, from Autonomie, too!) There was not much support for them in S-H and Germany. Fliers, graffiti-spraying, papers, but no direct action (only one church occupation, Social democrat bureau in Kiel occupied for some hours, smashed windows there two weeks before. More nationalism and a new racist atmosphere in Germany.

And the revolutionary movement getting smaller, is isolated more than 10 years ago (we have no answers, socialism is out). Anarchists are too few and many are dreaming about the good old days, of Spain in 1936, or say: we said it since 1917—East Germany/USSR & rest are not free, no socialism! But they do nothing against it. (Perhaps a little bit exaggerated.)

Repression: Two Autonomie from Hamburg are being prosecuted. Cops say that they put big stones on a railroad track and tried to derail a train. Bad lie! But now Ralf & Knud (their names) have been charged with attempted murder. They sat for some months under investigative detention. (Now they are free.) The prosecution is still going on. We tried to stop it. [...]

The RAF, pissed off Marxist-Leninists with guns, sent a new

document. They say: We will stop attacks against high representatives of state and the economy. Real great. They do it because they hope that the situation in prison will be better then. (I say ha ha, because it is only getting better when we out/inside fight, the state never gave anything when we asked. We will see.)

Next year here in Frankfurt we will have an anarchist congress for Germany & guests. Perhaps our time has come.

Much power and viva,  
H.S., Kiel, Germany

## Little Free Press ends

Dear Lev,

Issue #90 was the last issue of the Little Free Press newsletter to be published. The first issue was in 1969.[...]

I have decided not to publish my second book, even though it is finished.

Instead of writing about Freedom, I now intend to *take* more Freedom for myself. Don't worry, there will still be plenty of freedom left for everyone who wants to take it. Hopefully, now I'll be able to get myself to buy a sailboat and learn to become a Gypsy of the Sea.

I do not plan to write any more.

I now believe that Freedom is an individual thing that one must *take* for one's self.

A group, party, government or an army can not give you Freedom!

The mass media can make you believe you are not a slave. It will give you *no* hints on how to

take your Freedom, it only bogs you down with diversions, trivia and fear.

With a little independent thinking, you can figure out how things really are, and find a way to take your own Freedom...or remain a slave, if you prefer.

Good luck and good by,  
Ernest Mann, Minneapolis, MN.

## 600,000 political prisoners

Dear folks,

I have been reading the magazine since mid-'89 and recently became a subscriber.

Though I am in general agreement with most all of the views expressed in *Anarchy*, I must take issue with the impression you left in issue #32, page 10, regarding the number of political prisoners in the United States. This is because, at least as far as I see it, there are not just a few hundred political prisoners or even a few thousand but well over 600,000 political prisoners in the United States at the present time, that is if you count all those who have been convicted and sentenced to prison or are currently in jail awaiting trial on a non-violent drug-related possession, sale or distribution charge as political prisoners, which I do. Now granted, I understand that these people are not pols in jail because they organized against a certain regime, or published articles critical of the power structure. The prisoners I'm describing are not in a league with Berrigan or Havel or Biko; they're in jail on a simple drug charge. But their

legal status in many ways does conform to most internationally recognized definitions of a prisoner of conscience (such as in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Amnesty International handbook), i.e., someone who has committed no violent or felonious acts but is incarcerated anyway because their religious or political beliefs, or in some cases their cultural activities, are in conflict with the ruling class.

One could in fact argue this a number of different ways—though not politically active, drug offenders are still political prisoners because their internment is a direct result of the inability of the political system to frame the problem differently or deal with it in any other way besides brute force; because the state is at war not with the enemies of American interests or territory but supposed traitors to "traditional American" cultural values and norms, that is, in the context of recreational drugs, smoking cigarettes and drinking booze, a patently political and I would say illegal exercise of government power; because drug hysteria '80s-style is merely an instrument in the hands of those who would drive the American political system even further to the right. Additionally, one can observe in the anti-drug effort the outlines of a totalitarian process—police surveillance and harassment, networks of informants, denunciation by anonymous tips, court-ordered detention and treatment programs, and so on bear a strong resemblance to, for instance, Soviet-

## TWISTED IMAGE by Ace Backwords ©1992



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style re-education camps and psychiatric regimes for hooligans and political dissidents; sentences handed down to drug law violators tend to be quite lengthy, as long or longer than those given political prisoners either in South Africa or the former USSR; while from a socio-economic position one could argue that certain drug prohibitions aid capital by converting whole segments of the populace into a pariah class whose labor then becomes the basis, the floor so to speak, of the wage scale (see John Helmer, *Drugs and Minority Oppression*, Seabury Press, 1975).

Frankly, I will have to confess that I have been looking for a good forum from which to state this view, and I hope you will give it some thought. I have gone ahead and enclosed some other materials you may find of interest—copies of articles I wrote under a pseudonym for *Central Park* and *Left Curve*, [...] and a draft copy of the prologue to a book I'm writing on the political economy of the illegal drug question.

Thanks: look forward to seeing the next issue; please let me know what you think.

Best,

M.L., Houston, TX.

## L.A. wake-up call

Dear Lev & Co.,

On the day after the Rodney King verdict, when the country was reeling in horror & revulsion upon hearing it & seeing L.A. explode, a white police captain in So. Africa was sentenced to death for ordering the murder of 11 blacks. For many years it has been true that a black man in Amerikkka is 3-4 times more likely to be incarcerated than in So. Africa. The truth is it is undeniable that it is easier for blacks to receive justice in Azania than here.

But even long before Rodney King it had been obvious that the system was in severe need of change, i.e. elimination. Perhaps now, many who had been unaware, or even defensive of, their oppression because of internalization will receive a much needed wake-up call so that the only ones left defending

the system will be the naked oppressors themselves.

Instead of calling for peace & calm during the riots encouragement should have been given to focussing the righteous anger on the appropriate police, military & other government targets.

In the pages of *Anarchy* & the like, we constantly read about this wonderful Utopia which awaits us. The only trouble is no one ever talks about how to get there. How about it?

Arm your desires,  
J.R., Enfield, CT.

## Fertile ground

Hiya...Lev and C.A.L.,

Just thought it was time to send you a thank you...for the listing of Tower Magz as a distributor. We have gotten samples of several magazines that we have picked up through your listing. Today, I bought 300 copies (very conservative) of *Ichin' For Ink* for example. Also, one of our record stores just called and asked for approval to carry *Anarchy* and *Profane Existence*. I said sure...do you want me to send some...he was floored that we carried it. A fertile ground out in those stores I guess.[...]

Thanks again. Stay warm, eat garlic, sip red wine.

D.B., West Sacramento, CA.

## Things are escalating

Dear *Anarchy*,

The official cost of the Berkeley riot and looting of May 1, 1992 is \$1 million plus. \$100,000 for police and the rest due to losses by merchants; who may have hyped the figures for insurance purposes.

The stores in the four block Telegraph Ave. strip reported gross sales of \$129 million for 1991.

This is the first time a curfew (2 days), has ever been enacted in Berkeley. Even during the sixties.

Things are escalating.

Most of the Berkeley radicals were in Santa Rita during the riot and looting. They were arrested for their traditional NV/CD occupation of the Bay Bridge. The first nite of their curfew they all got arrested again in SF for capricious rea-

sons. On Friday the eighth they all went and got arrested again in the Castro.

Seems stupid and redundant to me. Regressive. They are not taking matters forward. They persist in rhetorical non-violent academic constitutional chess games, where they always lose. We lose. They are sophomoric.

The curfews paralyzed them. They became dysfunctional in a real civil breakdown under police curfew. They were not practically prepared to do anything revolutionary. The same will apply to any state of martial law. They are not learning and taking progressive action. They remain in an intellectual stalemate mentality.

Everyone has just seen how public services fall to pieces. How the constitution is superseded when the state is threatened. We can expect more of the same. Will anyone learn to, work now to prepare for such events and develop ways and means to remain functional and be effective politically in such circumstances?

We are heading into civil war. Peaceful protest becomes absurd.

Several steps need to be taken.

Prepare for civil breakdown.  
National infolinks.

Whites need to get their action and program together. Blacks, La Raza, and American Indians are working independently on both. The majority of white radicals are still thinking in empathetic relationships to what minorities are doing politically. This is lame and unrealistic.

Prepare for national or regional martial law.

Revolution is not legal.

M.C.S., Oakland, CA.

## Surrealist modes

Dear *Anarchy*,

Vancigem said it well when he wrote "Spontaneous poetry is unmediated expression par excellence" in *The Revolution of Everyday Life*. He was obviously referring to, besides the Dadaists, the idea of poetic expression (and life in general) utilized primarily by surrealists, those who use the medium as a means

to an end rather than an end in itself.

The deadening influence of certain traditions upon human activity in all spheres of life is one thing most freedom-minded people will agree on. The idea of operating from a "primary process" in the dimension of even just written poetry is in essence subversive because it has a radically subjective point of origin that, when worked with, can assist in the realization of greater consciousness. What is needed is not only awareness of social power (the knowledge of what has been done and what can be done by people themselves to take charge of their own lives) but a complete renewal and re-emergence of the powers and abilities of human beings that have been shamefully squandered or suppressed by the existing reality (being the sum total of the direction and/or repression/perversion of human energy, including the mental and physical acceptance given to self-serving hierarchical values, institutions and their underlying metaphysical assumptions).

If, as psychoanalysts claim, there are, due to socialization into authoritarian societies by patriarchal nuclear families, "ideological roots of oppression" anchored in the unconscious mind during childhood which influence daily our behavior and create so-called "dependency dreams (i.e. the emotional 'need' that motivates people to seek protection, comfort, nurturance and praise from authoritarian social relationships) then it's important to consider and work with human consciousness and not neglect it in favor of the terrain of the concretely known. The external meets the internal in a continuous exchange in ways that are, despite much speculation and theorizing, still not entirely known. As part of the process of external/internal transformation I think it would be beneficial for readers to investigate surrealist theory first hand, especially the most modern contributions to it. It would be interesting to see an exchange within your pages on some of these topics as they are inseparable from the overall desire to escape the "web of



domination."

"Nothing less can be proposed than another life, where the gestures, words, imaginations and all the feelings of human beings will no longer be chained, where senses and brain will unite—only this union can eliminate all the fixations of madness. It is obvious that all this can only be conquered by the destruction of the capitalist mode of production." -Jacques Camatte, from *The Wandering of Humanity*, 1975

Sincerely,  
C.W., Carbondale, IL

Ps: A quick response to Allen Watermelon's letter in issue 32—while it's true that 'punk' has become something of a shallow fashion oriented knee-jerk rebellion, there have been and still are some wonderfully inspired, creative people in the punk/alternative music scene. Those with the awareness support things other than their own profit, for example, bands can play benefit concerts for radical groups or to help people out with bail money. Some punk bands encourage direct action in a most obvious way (just look at an issue of *Profane Existence*). All this is bound to have some effect upon people who might never come into contact with such ideas otherwise. And besides, a punk show is a good place to break body armor, provided the dancing isn't overly macho.

## Feudalists succeed capitalists

Editor,

By now everyone should realize that capitalism is better at creating the needs and wants of mankind than socialism. So why is it that all capitalist societies eventually devolve into socialism, as England did and the United States is doing?

Answer: feudalism. Capitalism is better than socialism but socialism is better than feudalism and, as man is mortal, feudalists succeed capitalists.

It is the conservatives who start the descent into socialism, not the liberals. Conservatives complain about 'welfare-type' people who want something for nothing. Possessions without

earning them, but who is it who does this first? Where is the very, very first step of the downward spiral into "something for nothing?"

Answer: Inheritance. Not just the type you get from dead relatives but the type you get from them when they are still alive. Here's Jack the shoeshine boy. He rises up and actually earns his way into the middle-class (or even gets rich). But what of his kid? His kid is simply born into it. He gets a better lifestyle without earning it. And when the old man dies he leaves all his money to his kid. All of this is unearned.

So what sort of message does this 'feudalism' give to the poor? That people get money via earning it? Of course not. It gives the message that most money comes from not earning. Thanks to inheritance we get one generation of a family that is capitalist followed by generations forever that are feudalist. The money is just handed down and kept in the same families forever. The inheritors also push through laws to keep others from rising and competing with them.

Capitalism is individualist and is based upon *who* you are. Feudalism is collectivist as, due to inheritance, what matters is *who your family* is. Capitalism is based upon the earned wealth of production. Feudalism is based upon the unearned loot of inheritance.

America is having all these problems because we are a feudal country posing as a capitalist one. We don't even have a capitalist political party. We have the Republicans who are feudalist versus the Democrats who are socialist. Did, say, George Bush or Bill Buckley earn their money via capitalism or did they quietly inherit it feudally?

Too many people were born on the basepaths thinking they got a hit. You can't have a right without a left and an unearned feudal inheritance 'action' will cause an unearned socialist 'reaction'. If you didn't earn it don't expect the other guy to earn it.

Ever stop to think that we consider it ridiculous to punish a son for a father's crimes yet we

take it for granted that the son will inherit the father's money? It should be the same 'logic' for both. If the son can't inherit guilt because he did not 'earn' it then he should not inherit anything else for the same reason.

There are only two types of wealth: earned and unearned. We could eliminate all taxes in this country and have a near-utopia based upon merit if we never taxed any earned money while redistributing all possessions a man leaves after his death. You can't take it with you and a dead man has no possessions. The *National Review* likes to run left-wing oxymorons. I submit that the term "inheritance tax" is an oxymoron as you can't tax the dead. They are gone. The super-capitalist Ayn Rand once said that the only proper function of the government in terms of possessions is to act like a caretaker as in the case of the Oklahoma Territory being thrown open to the citizenry. I submit that the moment a person dies his possessions no longer have an owner and the government's job is to be a caretaker until they are thrown open. Or, if you believe that the government has certain responsibilities such as roads and defense, the money could be used for that rather than taxing the living. [...]

W.K., York, PA.

## More responses

Dear Jason,

Thank you so much for your reviews of *WDR* & the reproduction of the #2 cover. You may be interested to know that now with *Factsheet 5* out of action (temporary?), your publication *Anarchy* has resulted in *WDR* getting more responses than any other publication reviews we get or even our own advertising! I will not forget your help. We give free copies to prisoners who ask. And we accept trades (Our effort to avoid the use of cash) [...] Your reviews of other publications help me in my trading.

I must compliment your group on *Anarchy* #32! The "Libertarian Fiction" was a welcome relief from the often dry articles in *Anarchy*. I especially liked "A

Day in the Life of Avram Krantz" & "The Small Press as Class Struggle Revisited." I get the feeling that anarchy is on the move! Now that "Marxism" is dead, the field has been cleared for new growth.

Take care & thanks!

Larry,  
*World Domination Review*  
POB 762  
Madison, WI. 53701-0762

## Des Moines got pissed

I guess I shouldn't be surprised that the best publication or the most sophisticated political theory comes out of the midwest—after all, it wasn't 'til Des Moines got pissed that Nixon was impeached.

Good (pardon the expression) work! Keep the flame.

B.P., Santa Monica, CA.

## Anarchist contact zine

Greetings & salutations!

This is Daren down here in San Diego & I thought that the readers of your publication would be interested in knowing about a project I've recently started. It's the international circle A contact zine. The purpose of which is to foster & encourage a greater amount of communication amongst the anarchist community at large & to help break the feeling of isolation for anti-authoritarians in small towns & such. A position I'm quite sure a few of us have felt at one time or another. It's a cross between a pen pal zine & the *International Blacklist* that will come out on a monthly basis. To put your classified ad in (limit 50 words) send your name, address & 50¢ to cover printing & postage costs. Outside of USA A's please send the US equivalent of 75¢ in IRCs (when mailing coins please have them taped to an index card or something) to Daren Clare Perez, POB 179218, San Diego, CA. 92177, USA.

P.S. Any bands, traveling nomads & such please get in contact with me if you even think you might be coming here & I'll do my best to book you a show, set you up & generally make your visit as good as I can help it. Thanks & have a nice day!



# Anarchy & Civilization

Lev (Jason?),

I've located the letter I wrote you April 25, 1991 in response to reviews in *Anarchy* of my essay *Anarchy and Civilization*. I believe my response is still pertinent now, over a year after it was written—especially in an issue concerned with "abandoning civilization." [Note: The original letter was not printed because it was lost, and a new copy had to be requested. Unfortunately, this copy didn't arrive in time to be included in the Summer issue, as the author had hoped.]

Unfortunately, I'm a good deal less optimistic now than I was when I wrote my response. Those who have attacked civilization have identified a real problem, but the truly profound nature of that problem lies deeper still, in the alienating structure that is human consciousness.

We are all trapped by the very phenomenon of subject/object distinctions—of distinguishing between observer and observed, self and other, actor and acted-upon—in short, by the very faculty and modality of thinking itself (which is to say, thinking about things)!

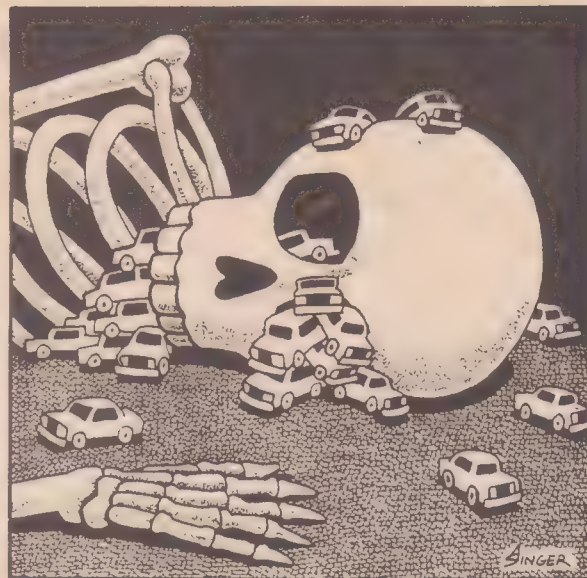
I've come to fear that this very ability to abstract ourselves (and/or our world) both depends upon and creates the accumulation of surplus (especially the creation of nodes of surplus time and energy in the world)—and hence is symbiotic with our nemesis, the uneven distribution of power. In other words, what's necessary for us to achieve understanding is directly antithetical to what's necessary for us to enjoy freedom. And this isn't a matter of how we define terms; it's a question of whether we define anything at all. Maybe the only way to fulfill our highest aspirations is to abandon them. But to do so consciously may (by definition?) be impossible. So I suspect we're in for a bloody hard time.

My original comments on *Anarchy and Civilization* (and on your reviews) follow below:

Dear People,

I'm flattered that you chose to devote nearly a full page of *Anarchy* to reviews, by Lev Chernyi

## PARASITES



"THE ROAD TO HELL  
IS PAVED WITH  
GOOD INTENTIONS."



THE ROAD TO HELL  
IS PAVED  
WITH INTENTIONS.



THE ROAD TO HELL  
IS PAVED.



Andrew B. Singer (POB 14392, Berkeley, CA. 94701).

and Laure A, of my pamphlet, *Anarchy and Civilization* [See *Anarchy* #28/Spring '91, p.8]. In all this space, I only wish you hadn't missed—or pretended to miss—the whole point of my essay. Judging by the allocation of space and the stridency of the reviews, I've hit on some sensitive nerves and raised some important issues—or at least some painful questions—despite the reviewers' transparent attempts to marginalize my work. In fact, both reviews raise some very important questions—along with taking quite a few cheap shots

(not that I'm innocent, of course).

Yes, I copyrighted my pamphlet, but Laure shouldn't jump to conclusions about whether I'd be upset if someone told me they'd pirated a few copies. The copyright wasn't a half-baked decision, but one based on a complex set of considerations—including keeping my stuff from falling under the control of commercial sharks, and encouraging people interested in the pamphlet to interact with me. As for Laure's complaint that my attempts to set up a context and

define terms makes for laborious reading: it also made for arduous writing, and was an attempt to respond to criticisms of earlier versions of the essay (among them, by Lev), that I'd failed to establish contexts and define terms. Now that I've made the effort, I'm glad I have.

In fact, Lev had kindly sent me a copy of a preliminary review that he wrote many months before the published one, in response to a pilot version of *Anarchy and Civilization* that I'd sent him. Some of his criticisms were thoughtful and valid then,



and I thoroughly revised the essay to take his criticisms, among others, into account.

In revising the essay, I made sure to clarify why I feel that Paul Simons' material on primitivism and play [see *Anarchy* #23/Jan.-Feb.'90, p.11] is silly, fatuous, and unoriginal, born of wishful thinking about the past, present and future of the human condition and an avoidance of some harsh questions about the contingencies inherent in living in a material world. Notions of "original innocence" (and a subsequent 'fall') are an ancient fantasy-metaphor, tantamount to the Garden of Eden story in the Hebrew Bible, which at least has the virtue of longevity. Lev doesn't acknowledge my clarification, but he still insists on chastising me for picking on Simons—now without even trying to explain why he's so sure Simons is right.

I emphasize that the nature and context of pre-civilization has long been an open question, not an article of orthodox belief; others (including many would-be anarcho-primitivists) seem to want to close debate on such questions. Throughout *Anarchy and Civilization*, I discuss this at length, trying to demonstrate how intricate and subtle the questions (and the answers) really are, and to deconstruct many of the images we take for granted as the very ground for discussion.

But Lev even distorts my definition of civilization—a definition whose basis and development is the very crux of my essay. I characterize civilization as "a forum where concepts like a vision of social peace and ecological balance can be discussed—a context in which such visions can be invigorated and realized on a meaningful scale...a colloquy among all the forms of vision that humanity can summon." I emphasize that this view of civilization "calls for...each of us to become a Renaissance man (or woman) with a broad overview of nature and technologies—[a vision that] shares little with a passive 'civilization' where everyone lives a block from a convenience store, owns a TV and a microwave oven, and works in an office or factory."

Nonetheless, Lev's review

persists in accusing me of promoting "a relatively blind taste for technological 'convenience' (while ignoring the general debasement of life necessary to provide it)." I guess my definition—the very heart of my discussion, consistently emphasized throughout the essay—sailed right by him unnoticed (unless his distortion is deliberate)!

If, on the other hand, Lev believes that, in fact, the values I call 'civilized' *cannot or should not* be accessible and shared fulfillingly by all, he doesn't say so—nor does he say why. That might at least have provided legitimate and fertile ground for discussion.

According to Lev, I believe that "human freedom outside a notion of 'network consciousness'—requiring a highly industrialized, market economy for its base—is simply inconceivable." Do I really believe that? No, I merely raise the question, rather than purveying a set of unassailable dogmas, or anointing, as anarcho-orthodoxy, a set of assumptions about humanity's role in evolution and our ecological niche.

This is the broad context in which I discuss collective consciousness as a network, and question whether and how such consciousness is (and is not!) consistent with "an industrialized, market economy." Obviously, I reject as simplistic *Fifth Estate's* notion that this 'network' is a monolithic 'megamachine', a seamless 'grid' imposed on us by others. I do believe that we live at a juncture in evolution where all of our 'conceiving'—including the *Fifth Estate's*—occurs amid such complexities and realities as civilization brings us.

But is that 'forum' I call civilization inevitably a Spectacle, sponsored by an evil ruling class, that shackles us to a world of illusion? I disagree with Lev's comment that I've capitulated to just such a Spectacle by asserting that "our role as conscious beings is to handle information." Recognition is not capitulation! In fact, I believe that recognition is the first step toward dealing with the human condition as it is experienced by real people in the real world, and toward tak-

ing control of our lives.

I don't claim any special franchise on understanding or being elitely in touch with 'desire' or 'wilderness', and I'm wary of those who do. The subject is open to scrutiny by all; anarchy isn't a smokescreen for a cadre of self-appointed shamans and their would-be cheerleaders. Nor am I willing to get lost among the constricting and stifling prescriptions peddled by anarcho-poseurs, and the spectacular revolutionary pretensions slung around by those caught up playing out the negative roles that the ruling class has assigned to anarchists.

Only by directly addressing the nature of actual, present human consciousness—which is where the Spectacle germinates and where we apprehend reality—do we begin to get a handle on our lives! We participate and observe; we entertain ourselves with pain and pleasure. The show will go on; we are the actors and the spectators, and our lives are the theatre. As human beings—and especially as anarchists—we should be wary of those who run around telling us to accept 'limits'. (If we agree to them mutually, with a broad, good-faith understanding of our respective needs, that's different.) The question is really whose show it is, and whether we will all be able to write our own scripts as we go. That's the only meaningful realm of human freedom in the real world—and it's both play and hard work.

Ecology isn't about worshipping a golden calf; it's about problem-solving. That's what it *really* means to be down-to-earth. For publishers, this might mean exploring our options for disposing of (or reusing) spent toner cartridges or phototypesetting chemicals. All of us might try asking whether there's such a thing as ecology in a space capsule (Remember Spaceship Earth?). How about building a solar-powered electric car?

To me, anarchy means most basically not having other people tell me what to do or how to live my life, and my not even *desiring* to tell others what to do with *their* lives. It means living as freely as possible in this world, and learning to trust and

work with others trying to do the same. This simple desire for freedom is at the heart of what I believe. Many who call themselves anarchists seem to desire merely to be contentious, and have lost the sense that freedom is, first and foremost, something to be exercised and shared positively and creatively in this world. What planet are *they* on?

Sincerely,  
Mitchell Halberstadt  
Daly City, CA.

[I stand by my original review in *Anarchy* #28 without any reservations. It seems to me that it is really Mitchell who has 'missed—or pretended to miss—the whole point.' Judge for yourselves!  
—Jason aka Lev Chernyi]

## Assemblings

Dear Jason,

There was a lot of good stuff in #32. So much fiction/poetry being written these days is self-indulgent crap with no insight into what the real problems are & no imaginative vision for the future. The writers you published had something to say & said it well. I especially liked Kostelanetz's "Collection of Stories." I've long been a fan of his work & a few years back he was involved with putting together *Assemblings* magazine, which to my mind was one of the most anarchistically conceived arts magazines published to date. The idea was that writers, artists, poets, etc. would not only write, but also print and copy a few hundred copies of their work. These were then collated, bound, & distributed. There were no restrictions on what went into the magazine, no editorial judgment, no ego-trip for writers to feel their work had been 'accepted' & won the critical approval of the editor. The kitsch got published right along with the more interesting stuff, but as it turned out, few kitsch writers had the inclination to expose themselves without editorial filters. *Assemblings* got writers involved in not only writing the material, but also in producing it. It could have gone further in getting writers involved with the distribution & promotion as well, but it was still a remark-



# Attention College Graduates:

## Your Future Maintains Our Leadership Position



.....as long as you continue your life as you have for the past 20-odd years. We need strong, able bodies willing to give up all pleasure for our needs. We need you if you are willing to be satisfied with meaningless activity, if you are willing to accept our leadership and authority, if you are willing to conform your thoughts to our line. This system has worked hard to produce you as you are today. You've already shown us your patience--most of you spent your first 18 years in a nuclear family obeying the rules of your parents and teachers. In the University you've experienced more of the same rules and regulations, you've experienced an increasing workload year after year (so that you're too busy for anything else), as well as less and less control over your life. And you've shown remarkable restraint from anger over the petty problems of everyday life--finding a place to live, standing in long lines at the grocery, at registration for school, at finding a job (boring and useless that it was). And now we want to reward you. We'll offer you all kinds of gimmicks--we'll pay off your student loan, we'll give you a cash bonus, we'll give you professional status (even though we'll make all the decisions for you), anything we can think of to snatch you into our fold. After all, we're only asking for your life.

## Is There Life After a Job?

*An Unpaid Subvertisement*

able achievement, which inspired quite a few imitations later on.

All best,  
Richard Evanoff, Japan

### Clear the way

Government should have been nothing more than an institution to facilitate our lives. What it is

though, is a thing for authoritarian, power hungry personalities to conquer. Which then transform themselves into the heart of a machine whose sole function is to control and choose the direction of our lives. While the fat cats make the rules to protect and acquire more money for themselves, and more power for

the machine. People stepping all over the powerless to grab an even bigger piece of the pie.

Ask yourself, how many do you step on?

Society, Government, Institutions, the Corporate Monolith, the Conglomerate Beast: baiting the work force with the dreams of the Rich and Famous. The

momentum of its progress stampeding the gentle and more precious parts of ourselves.

Society does not mean order. Just look around. It means oppression. Under the holy name of society we conform and limit ourselves. We sacrifice our natural individuality to become cogs in the monstrous machine. For what? What purpose?

Have We the People built this Frankenstein creature to protect us from us? For a man without laws is nothing but a wild animal. Violence runs through the blood of man.

I say love is an instinct. And our passions and free will are not the beasts to keep under martial law. Take control of your life. Teach others how.

Don't be afraid of violence or chaos or people rioting in streets. Stay home; go out and be a part of it; kill yourself if you have to. Do your thing. Take chances. Violence and hate burn themselves out if left alone.

Clear the way to a new freedom! And we will go farther than any of us can now.

M.C., Torrance, CA.

### Contact Feral!

Jason,

This is important to me. If it's at all possible, please, in the next issue of the magazine put the following in the letters section.

All correspondents with Feral Faun: I lost my address book. Please write me with all relevant information so that I can keep corresponding with you.

Feral Faun  
POB 203

Portland, OR. 97207

### More from Ervie Gray

Dear Anarchy,

I was informed by prison guard officer Hodgkins that a magazine entitled *Anarchy* arrived and it "contains contraband," and is therefore not allowed. It grieves me greatly to tell you of this.

I will challenge the "contains contraband" issue in court this month if the prison warden Jeff Endicott does not release the issue of *Anarchy* to me. Procunier V. Martinez 416 U.S. 396,



428, 94 sct.1800. Luparar V. Stoneman 382 F.supp. 495. "Officials may not censor simply to eliminate unflattering opinions, factually inaccurate statements, or inflammatory racial, political, or religious views." Please write: Jeffrey Endicott, Warden Columbia Correctional Inst. Route 3 P.O. Box 950 Portage, Wisconsin 53901 (608)-742-9100 and/or:

Patrick J. Fiedler, Secretary Department of Corrections 149 E. Wilson St. Madison, Wisconsin 53707 (608)-266-2471.

It was my intention to send unto you material on the "bag lunch restriction" topic. Presently I am without this file.

I will write another letter to be printed, re: Food altering, food contamination. The next letter shall accompany the legal documents I filed.

I am hoping to start a Freedom drive to bring about my liberty. If the folks at *Anarchy* are interested in assisting me in this endeavor via publication, I would like to know your feeling on this merit.

In this year we shall overcome,  
Ervie L. Gray  
Columbia Corr. Inst.  
POB 900  
Portage, WI. 53901

[Readers may write directly to Ervie, and/or in support of his fair treatment to the above contacts and: Tommy G. Thompson, Office of the Governor, POB 7863, Madison, WI. 53707 and Katherine Burgess, 4267 Wenz Court, Dayton, OH. 45405.]

## Troubling accusations

Hello,

In the Spring '92 edition of *Anarchy*, there was a letter from "A Reader" which accused Laure A. of "Bob Black-like comments" and in general, "pissed off a lot of people." I have to admit that I am new to the scene and I cannot say anything one way or another about Laure A., but it is the form of the letter that troubles me. "A Reader" makes this accusation but gives no evidence to back it up. This is an old dirty trick along the lines of Old Joe stating that he had a list of two

## Anarchist Contacts

This is a listing of addresses of groups and individuals who would like to see the growth and development of anarchist practice of one form or another. The list may help those participating to make regional contacts and intercommunication links based on their self-defined perspectives.

If you'd like to see your address added to this listing just write to us and we'll include your name, address, and a short (20 words or less) description of your perspective, practice and/or desires. Each contact address will be run in two successive issues.

(Note: We are only compiling this list, we are not endorsing the positions of those who have asked to be listed.)

**Jason**  
POB 3458  
Berkeley, CA. 94703  
"I'm interested in making contact...to discuss direct actions, self-sufficiency, alternatives to rent & work, and other...ways to make life...more rewarding."

**John Antonio Gloster**  
#981009  
Clallam Bay  
Concentration Camp  
HCR-63 PO Box 5000  
Clallam Bay, WA.  
98326-9775

**Craig Stehr**  
POB 1127  
Madison, WI.53701-1127  
"I would like to meet other anarchist theater/music/performance art people here."

**Howlin' Mad Johann**  
23233 Saticoy Street  
Building 105, Suite #176  
West Hills, CA. 91304

**Fatuous Times**  
POB 406  
Stoke-On-Trent  
ST1 4RN  
England

**CommunistAntinational**  
POB 3305  
Oakland, CA. 94609  
"We scorn & jeer at knee-jerk anti-marxist 'anarchists'...The critique of society...begins with the critique of political economy."

**Randy**  
POB 5084  
Brighton, MI. 48116-7184  
"Freedom comes from within, not from a social contract. Pleasure is the prime goal of life."

**(d)anger**  
POB 203  
Portland, OR. 97201

hundred and five known communists in the state department. Even if the accusations are shown to be lies, people still remember the charges, the doubt is still there.

So I ask "A Reader" to back up the charges. If "A Reader" can't or doesn't reply I will assume that the charges are made up. Unlike "A Reader," I will not hide behind anonymity.

Robert L. Smith, Chicago, IL.

## Cutting edge buddy

My precious brethren,  
*Anarchy!! Yes!!* It's happening, it's rad!! It's our hope for the future, and above all, it's trendy.

I can hardly wait for the revolution, or whatever it's going to take.

OK, but I got a question. Suppose in anarchy I buy a pair of shoes, and the sewers left a needle in one of the shoes and I step on it and hurt my foot bad. Can I sue the makers of the shoe for leaving that needle in it? Will I pay for the hospital?

Maybe there won't be any factories in anarchy?

Maybe there won't be any hospitals?

Maybe there won't be any

shoes?

Maybe there won't be any suing?

I'm kinda curious, so lemme know. Til then, I am your cutting edge buddy, Bag of Water. Bag of Water, Minneapolis, MN.

Ps. Could I get a 2,000 word minimum reply from Lev?

## The small press & poetry movements

I have been a browser of *Anarchy* for many years (ever since at least issue #6) but now I am reading every word. After having spent four months outside of the US, I find it to be a tremendous comfort, an affirmation that there are, indeed, at least some 'sane' people in this country. It helps especially in these times of hiding out in the northern 'burbs, and returning to this country in times of 'elections' and the beginning of what may yet prove to be quite an interesting summer on the home front.

I devoured issues #31 & #32 —thanks, compañeros for all your terrific insights/inputs. It was great to finally see/read the long-promised issue on women

& gender. The addition of "The anarchist scene" is great. The "Regaining control" (#31) & Harold Morse's letter (#32) provides useful/interesting practical information on how to make it outside/without the established system. Has *Anarchy* every thought about doing a "How-to" issue full of such tasty info? & Feral Faun—thanx for your insight/citeful "The ideology of victimization." It gives plenty for me to think about, especially in my current situation—though I think that many of us can benefit from 'meditating' on it—it's so damn true that we end up continuing to victimize ourselves when trying to supposedly break free from our oppressions instead of just doing it & totally breaking free & being free.

Anyways, what really provoked me to finally sit down and write a letter after all these years of sitting 'round reading this rag is Richard Evanoff's "The small press as class struggle revisited." It is of interest to hear about people's attempts/experiences at collective/cooperative publishing (it would, indeed, be interesting for the folk at *Anarchy* to relate how they manage to pull off such a thought-provoking, excellent rag—definitely one of the best in this country—Anyways, I digress). A few thoughts that struck me about the whole thing, from this writer/poet/performer's view:

First, literature is for the people, not just for the writers. To speak of the small press as a class struggle by limiting production to just the members of the writer class and marketing it to just that class is to make it a creator of a new separate class (or perpetuate the barriers between that one & others). It doesn't help to abolish/demolish the barriers between classes. Yes, it is important that people learn skills other than those with which s/he is already familiar—everyone should do that regardless of their 'profession'. It helps to break down the artificial barriers between us created by 'progress'/capitalism/industrialization, those barriers which are intended to divide us, to isolate us from one another & thereby decreasing/destroying effective



communication/sharing of ideas between us as producers of whatever our skills are. By limiting production to those who write, you continue to create/perpetuate such barriers.

Of interest is the people's poetry movements in Mexico, Brasil & other countries. All of the production is collective, according to people's skills, with the main goal/objective of getting poetry to the people. Those who know printing volunteer their time/skills, those who know marketing volunteer theirs, the writers volunteer theirs. The prices are kept low so that it is accessible to the people; just enough is charged to cover the cost of materials (if they weren't also donated) & to help the writer to get to the next town. Readings are done in locales accessible to the people: in factories, in slums/barrios/favelas, in bars, in parks—wherever the people are (not just writers), the poetry/performance art goes there.

In such a set-up, there exists a broad base of support for production (albeit, still limited to those who have a training in a particular field; however, neither is the production limited to just writers nor is presentation limited to the target market, that being writers). The poetry/writings is for all the people, not for a select group/class, and people from all professions/classes participate in the production.

What would be ideal is to take this basic concept and open it up to where those who wish to learn some aspect of production (a printer wants to learn to market or write/perform; a writer who wants to learn to print or bind, etc.) is able to learn to do so from others involved in the collective effort, and, in fact, are encouraged to do so.

Encouragement, not force, is the key, I believe. As many have pointed out, force is a major reason why the 'educational' system fails. No one learns much of anything if s/he is forced to learn it. It is bad that one doesn't have an interest to learn—worse yet is to try to force someone to learn. And such forcing seems to be contrary to the tenets concerning the individual contained in anarchist thought.

Let an individual choose what s/he wants to do/learn. Encourage him/her to do/learn other stuff—but don't force him/her.

On the issue of how the editorial board would be set up: it could be a collective comprised of people who work on the different production aspects of the publications (writers, printers, binders, etc.). With such a collective set-up, a sharing of the information from the different trades can/will bring about a learning for all concerned.

One final thought concerning this: In many other cultures, poetry is recognized as something that many can not only appreciate, but also do. In the United States culture, it is relegated just to a small, isolated class. Our purpose, as poets (or performers of any kind) should be to break down this artificial barrier that has been created between the creator and all others (as seems to be the definite case with poetry in this culture), to break down the barrier between creator/performer and the audience (as a guerrilla/street/people's theater attempts).

Long live the voice  
of the people!

¡Viva la voz del pueblo!

Swooping Hawk, On the road

Ps. Do any of you out there feel a compelling need to go vote this presidential 'election' year? Instead of voting for the lesser of 2 (probably 3) evils, why not just turn in a blank ballot or write in "none of the above"? & encourage any/everyone you know who feels that compelling need to go vote to do the same. It might just throw some clogs into their cogs.

## My fun with the 'Choice' police

When I heard that Operation Rescue would be in New York, I decided to go confront them. Some friends expressed interest in this plan so we planned some actions, we all got our hands on mini super-soakers and planned to make some fun posters or mobiles or something. Of course, nothing so grand came out of our plans as we heard O.R., realizing they were out-

numbered, decided to cut back on their actions. We decided to focus our energies on the Dem-Con, especially as the police state was getting serious on cracking down on the protestors, way before it even started. Nonetheless we wanted to do something, even if it just meant going to hand out leaflets.

There was a list going around of the clinics targeted. There were 3 in Queens but we decided to go to the one which we felt would be least defended (which it was). We went to the one in Flushing; although it was a very high traffic area, few people were there, probably because it is in an Asian (primarily Chinese) area and we felt that due to the honkey stereotype of Asians, people would consider this an unused and unimportant site. (We were right. The group there was by far the smallest in the city.) We knew there would be some clinic defenders there so we just called a handful of people who vowed to show up and bring leaflets in Spanish, English & Chinese.

These things start early and I got my ass over there pretty early; I found about 20 white bourgeois hanging around, all holding up the same blue & white sign. My arrival caused a stir. I asked what was happening, and as nothing was, I decided I'd grab a doughnut and then come back. The organizers sent one woman to follow me four blocks to the doughnut shop; she peered into the window at me trying to look inconspicuous and when she saw that I noticed her she ran away.

I went back to the site whereupon I was promptly told to sign my name, address & phone number with the organizer chief. I asked why and when told (not to help out in case of arrest or something, but) that this is so they could "keep in contact with people" (which for them I'm sure means having their volunteer telemarketers harass me for \$) I refused, at which point the sergeant came over and told me that if I want to defend the clinic I'd have to sign the list or I'd be asked to leave. I told the bitch that that was silly, that if I didn't want to sign, why should I be forced to, and that basically

anybody could sign a fake name to the list and that if she was really concerned with 'security'—as she was now claiming—she oughta ID everyone, or ask protestors to bring letters of reference.

Well of course this caused a tiff. I explained to them that some folk were coming, that we don't even want to be part of their protest and that we'd just do our thing by ourselves. They started to bark that *they* were the *organizers* of the protest and then I explained to them that everybody knew that O.R. was coming so anybody could have planned a protest, that they have no exclusive right to protest and basically told them to fuck off. At that point the organizers (designated by their silly yellow aprons) held a little pow-wow about me and I guess they decided to play the "good-organizer/bad-organizer" routine with me. Some smiley face came over asking my name, what group I'm from, blah blah blah. Then she offered me a sign. I told her "No thanks. I'm gonna hand out these leaflets." She took one of them back to the cabal who got very disturbed. Now this leaflet was really tame—so much so that it probably could have been read at the Democratic Convention. The problem, I surmised, was that it wasn't *their* leaflet, produced by the greater minds at the head office. They told me that I should hand out their leaflets. I asked what's wrong with mine. "It doesn't look nice."

Only two friends showed up before I got so disgusted that I had to leave. After making a whole deal to their sheep about how they don't want any violence and how hopefully no other trouble makers will show up, the first person who showed up was jumped. This just happened to be a little old 80 lb. Chinese man—the janitor at the clinic. He approached with his keys out; he could have been a worker or even a doctor there for all they knew, but these people were too hyped up 'defending'. He went off and complained to the cops, in tears. The cops were approaching when we split. I wonder what would have happened to any other dick-carrying species attempting too



get in the place.

I wasn't surprised at all by these pigs (meaning the 'organizers'). After all, self-styled political leaders and organizational activists are *trouble*. They're the types that come to your house and tell you the neighborhood committee has decided you have to remove your pink flamingoes from the lawn. The problem is some people, who can only it seems imagine change through political means, think that they should work in coalition with these people because, after all, "we're all on the same side." But the experience many people I know have had with these types is that they have you arrested, they sometimes tell the FBI on you, if you don't do what they want they try to disassociate themselves from you, call you disruptive, and if you do they take over your work, projects and organizational efforts for themselves (i.e. at the June 12, 1982 event where the actual organizers were not allowed to speak at the "official podium" (*de facto* by its size), put up by last minute folk who realized 100,000 people would come). Think hard & good before you do anything with the liberals, particularly if they are white bourgie property owner types, as they are the natural friends of the police anyway. (Worst of all many times they try to get you to register to vote. Gag!)

Laure A., Queens, NY.

## No fucking intellectual shit

Hello Mr. Anarchy,

I purchased a subscription to your *fine* rag about one year ago. I've read into all of them some bit, and I won't say it was wasted money (as money is a symbolic, statically insignificant transmogriphic mediator in-junctive between two forms of energy) because you can't waste something that doesn't exist. You can waste your time chasing it though: that's daydreaming.

Seeing as you are the type of individual who enjoys conversation and content, not to mention forum and form, I have taken this step up to the podium to say, "If I had my way none of you would be here." And I say it

## WARNING CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO FOLLOW LEADERS



## IS GETTING US NOWHERE

to an empty auditorium.

The satire which the censor understands deserves to be censored. Some anarchist said that. It is true. Quite often, in our attempts to clear the murky waters of life, we flail about so wildly as to confuse matters even more. If we were to but hold still and watch, however, a miracle would occur. The stream of life would clear itself.

So it goes with the sophistry in your articulate magazine. The writing is intellectual to the point of drudgery, and often the types I find who read it are armchair philosophers themselves, much akin to late nights, low lights, heavy thoughts) and *gob* knows what else in their endless quest to discover whether or not they can be happy.

Busy justifying pedophilia when they could be fucking those babies!

There are those of who are not nihilistic (though nihilism, as well as pedophilia, can be entertaining) and can say, "Fuck it." As a matter of fact, I am not ashamed to be a SWMH in a loving relation with a SIFH and no so called 'deviations'. I have friends who are into their quirks and things (two dykes and bottle [empty] of tequila, as Spock would say, "Fascinating"). Yet my favorite thing is, "Fuck it."

There are certain things which we all know are unhealthy, yet we must do them to live. It is a basic rule in any integrated society that we must perform acts which we dismay at. Two sides to every coin. I personally gave

up on trying to explain philosophy. That is for people with full bellies and armchairs and drudgy old ideals which say they must think. But, if you need to think go ahead. If you need to figure out, or try to convince others they should be free in this or that way, your hat.

As a matter of fact, I'll help you. I know that you (as many which you can imagine) won't be greatly offended by this comic book/poetry fart/grab ass and hock literature, and being as compassionate as the milking methodist mother, the editing won't bother you either. I just like thrashing the water and making it muddy, like any free thinking, unbrainwashed, red blooded human-alien kid. Copies [Note: copies of *The Adventures of Quack* that is..., see the notice in the "Alternative press review" of this issue] are one dollar, U.S. cash, or comiczine/artrag tradeoff. No fucking intellectual shit. (Except you, mister anarchy. I love you.)

Send to:

Mos Eiseley  
685 Italian Crk. Rd.  
Kalama, WA. 98531

Thanks for your time.

D.D., Kalama, WA.

## Anti Christ

Dear Lev,

Don't start the revolution without me—in fact, in a couple weeks I'll send you an essay to start the revolution—trust me, I am the Anti Christ. Or, as the children call me, Auntie Christ.

A.C., Portland, OR.

Ps. *Utne Reader* is a CIA publication—I have proof.

## Hooliganism is not anarchism

When reading some anarchistic (?) publications concerning the recent riot in USA, I noticed, to my surprise, attempts of clearing and even favouring perpetrators of it (*L.A. Today*, *56aInfoShop Bulletin* No.3). I consider this justification of violence to be immoral and completely contradictory to the anarchistic, libertarian creed.

Even if you assume that cops who had beaten Rodney King were acquitted unjustly (from



racialist motives) and that perpetrators of the riot really met with wrongs from the system (to me, this word means *not market activities*, as it does to most of 'leftist' anarchists, but the state machine of coercion and concrete persons who contribute to its activities), then their acts were aimed mostly not against this system but against many innocent people. These people were beaten and robbed and their possessions were destroyed—frequently only for colour of their skin. It was the ordinary hooliganism from racist motives.

In my opinion, only a complete fool, or an agent wanting to compromise anarchists, may write: "Anarchy, Chaos, Violence: Bravo!" (*L.A. Today*). Anarchy *isn't* violence in relation to innocent people. It's the state which uses systematic violence—to gather taxes, call up recruits, create wars, close borders, force tariffs and coercive insurances, force coercive school, prohibit production and trade of many articles or demand purchase of licences for it, persecute people for their opinions, expressed words, taking drugs, gambling, prostitution, "spreading pornography," cramp them in liberties considering colour of a skin, age, sex or sexual likes and dislikes. There will be anarchy when there won't be *any* 'legal' violence, when any aggression will be considered to be a crime. What took place in L.A. and other American towns, surely isn't a sign of anarchism. A raging mob isn't a picture of an anarchistic society.

An attempt of throwing the responsibility for the riot on the system *isn't* acceptable. People who stirred up the riot did it of their own free will they aimed their aggression against innocent people instead against directly guilty cops and their mandataries. This situation is quite different than a situation of average soldiers who kill under menace of a court martial and who really don't bear the responsibility for war murders.

If you reason like authors of *L.A. Today*, you can justify every crime. Everyone may kill and rob everyone another, the fact that he lives under the system

justifies him. (Unless...he was numbered among the system's bosses). He shouldn't bear a punishment because he is a victim himself. In accordance with this philosophy, if a robber attacked me, I shouldn't defend myself (or—how awful!—call for a cop), after all the hooligan isn't guilty of the raid; I should let him beat and rob me and afterwards, "in token of protest against the system," burn someone's or put a bomb in a supermarket. But I disappoint all such 'revolutionaries'. If I will be able, I will defend myself; if not, I will demand it from the police.

J.S., Katowice, Poland

## Desire to rape

Re: *Anarchy's* child-adult sex discussion [see *Anarchy* #33/Summer '92, p.60, 'Positive Child-Adult Sex: The Evidence']. When I was 11 I was subjected to an attempted rape. There was no agreement/reciprocal desire involved. Indeed, the perpetrator of this "boy-love" gesture grew more aggressive as I tried to resist. My struggles aroused him, evidently. His come-on consisted of various hints and innuendos, culminating in him pressing himself against me to hold me down, groping for my prick, trying to kiss me, etc., etc.

One can imagine 'pervert' Featherstone (by the way Featherstone, your "I-am-the-oppressed-pervert" rhetoric is overblown) suggesting there was no harm done—this was simply an attempt to initiate a relationship, and I did not react positively, hence my trauma at the time. Perhaps he would have my reaction theorized into a reflection of the general repressiveness of North American society at large regarding adult-child sex, which dictated my response. And here I'm still upset about it? Tut, tut, tut, "bad anarchist," Featherstone sagely remarks, having theorized away (to his own satisfaction, as usual) all my objections.

What the hell, as long as we're talking 'theory' how about the guy who raped my first lover at knife-point (great, eh? These people have fucked up my well-being not once, but *twice*). I suppose he was just trying to

realize his subjective-desires, which required a little theatre. There's a benign understanding for encompassing adult-child sex and adult-adult rape for you, Featherstone. I, however, would suggest the root of the desire to rape is shared by those who get off on sex with children: an insecurity which generates a need for unequal and oppressive power relations in their sex life.

Notice Featherstone entirely skirts forced sex between adults and children in his article, which is far and away the most prevalent manifestation of "child-adult sex" in the real world. Symptomatic of his avoidance of the issue of child rape is his neglect to examine what the adult is getting out of *any* of these child-sex encounters (why are they 'desirable' anyway?).

Child rapist fantasies about a desire for sex (or the possibility of it) on the part of the child prior to the adult-initiated rape: "Positive Child-Adult Sex: The Evidence" is the stuff of such trite fantasizing. It hasn't dealt with the subject comprehensively or honestly, let alone from a libertarian perspective.

T., Baltimore, MD.

## Reply to M.M.'s "Right to rape" letter

Dear Friends,

I picked up your magazine at a local comic book store for the first time yesterday and read all of it last night. I enjoyed much of what I read, agreeing with some of it, disagreeing with some of it and suspending judgment on some. I have been an anarchist for many years. I know that trying to get two of us to agree on more than a couple of items is like trying to get an elephant to wear hip boots, not impossible but so nearly so as to be hysterical to watch.

One item in your agenda surprised me, albeit pleasantly so. That is your frank discussion of transgenerational relationships. The "politically correct" stance is that any sexual contact across generations is abusive and there are few forums where alternative ideas can be discussed. I am glad that there is some forum which will allow this discussion on an intelligent level.

I direct my comments to the letter written by M.M. of Seattle [see *Anarchy* #33/Summer '92, p.86] who took NAMBLA to task for its support of transgenerational sex.

I was a member of NAMBLA for several years. I am a man who loves children, and I am sexually attracted to boys. I have a childhood which relates to my membership which I shall describe shortly. First, though, I would like to challenge some of the assumptions M.M. makes about NAMBLA and boys who might be involved with the members of NAMBLA.

M.M. seems to be in favor of sexual freedom for children, but while s/he does not openly say so, this freedom seems to be limited to having sex with people of one's own generation. No, there are no groups known as "Young, Sexually Active and Proud." Take a good look at our society, M.M., how long could such a group exist? There are, however, young members of NAMBLA (Bill Andriette was a 'minor' when he first began his involvement.) Some of the special friends of members attended meetings when I was a member years ago. And, no, we did not pass them around and have sex with them. What we did was listen to them and change our views of the world because of them.

M.M. makes the unwarranted assumption that boys who are involved with men are mostly street kids, hustlers and the like. This is far from the truth. Certainly many children are beaten and abused by their parents. Many of these kids end up on the streets in dismal lives. But most abused kids stay at home, enduring the abuse they receive. A substantial number of kids who are in a transgenerational relationship are from homes where they were abused or emotionally neglected. The relationships they develop with their friends are often one of the few bright spots in their lives. These relationships are a far cry from the predatory ones implied by the phrase "chicken hawk." I know, because I was just such a kid.

I grew up in a family with an alcoholic father who was away



from the family for months at a time, who never slapped or spanked me but who never seemed like he cared enough to do so.

My mother, also an alcoholic, went to great pains to make sure that my father's neglect of my discipline did not result in my going without any. Unfortunately, the great pains she went to were usually mine. I can easily remember many years later the whippings with the belt that I received. The whippings were not as bad as the humiliation. One time when I was eight, she caught me masturbating in the bath tub. She pulled me out by my hair and made me stand dripping and nude, in the living room. I had to continue masturbating in front of her while she ridiculed me, sometimes for being a little masturbator, sometimes for the tiny size of my penis, sometimes for being a sissy (which I was). Regardless, though, I had to stand their and fiddle with myself for at least a half hour. If I lost the erection, I was slapped.

Another time, when I was ten, I was sent to bed right after dinner for some reason (or maybe for none at all—there did not always have to be a reason for my being punished). I had to go directly to bed. No TV, no desert, no trip to the bathroom. I got locked in my room which was not uncommon.

I wet the bed that night. I can remember the panic I felt when my mother came into my room to awaken me and I felt the dampness of my pajamas as I awoke. I was not a bedwetter, but I knew mommy would be mad. And mad she was. She slapped me several times and then told me that she would make sure I never wet my bed again. She fashioned a diaper out of an old sheet and put it on me like I was a baby. She pinned it; but to assure that it remained on me all day, she sewed it together and then sewed it to my undershirt. I got sent to school like that. There was not way I could use the restroom. My kidneys ached from my bladder being so full during much of the day. Worse, though, is I had not had a bowel movement since early the previ-

ous day and my mother had not let me use the toilet before putting the diaper on. I left school with the worst stomach ache I had ever had and rushed home as quickly as I could.

I begged my mother to take the diaper off and let me use the toilet. She made me promise never to wet my bed again. Of course I promised. She had me take my pants off, as if to undo the diaper, kissed me tenderly and then sent me outside of our house clad in nothing but diaper and T-shirt. I sat on the steps in tears. I knew neighbors were watching. I knew some of the kids on the block were having a real laughfest on my account. And I could not help myself. I soaked the diapers and then filled them.

That was the state I was found in when a police car drove up and took me away from my mother. I was gone only a few days and was returned to her after a meeting with a bunch of people I did not know. One of the people was a quiet man I will call Carl. From that moment on, my life was changed.

Carl was my case worker from a private agency which was doing some of the social work for our county. He was the only person in that room who seemed to be talking for me and not about me. My mother, all tears and remorse, pleaded to have me back, explaining that it was hard raising a boy without a husband to help. She explained that she had done what she did out of frustration because I was a chronic bed wetter. I wanted to shout that this was a lie, I had not wet my bed in years until the other night, but instead I dropped my head and cried. Carl put an arm around me as I wept. He tried to console me by telling me that many boys my age still set their beds. I just shook my head.

Carl spent more time with me than his job required. He would stop by after work and check in to see how I was doing. His official contact with me was short term. Not soon after the meeting where we met, the agency for whom he worked was no longer needed for intervention. The social worker my mother was seeing determined

that everything was hunky dory in the family. Sure. Society abandoned me, but Carl did not. He took me places like the zoo or the local amusement park. He cared about me and I knew it.

I would often go to sleep imagining myself in Carl's arms. I loved him. I prayed that he loved me. Frequently, I would fall asleep with his image in my mind and my penis in my hand. I would drift off to my rest masturbating, to his name and imagined kisses. And more.

Carl and I got closer. He could tell I loved him. I hoped that his interest in me was love, but my experience with love was so limited that I could not be sure. I wanted him so badly. I wanted him and his love.

He often acted as a sitter for me. One time we went to a baseball game and afterward, we stopped off at his apartment. We had done this often in recent weeks. I curled up on the couch, my hand in his lap, watching TV. He was stroking my hair lightly, as he was wont to do at times. Often when I was with Carl I got an erection. I had one that afternoon. I also had a plan.

I seduced Carl that day. I rubbed him through his pants and he rubbed me, and we spent a great deal of time kissing. It was a gentle time and the start of many years of love which M.M. might call abusive or rape but which for me signalled my becoming a more full human being. I experienced a lot with Carl, but never was I coerced or forced. I gave him my anal virginity for my twelfth birthday present to him. After all, he was the only one who bothered to do anything for me that day. He experienced my first ejaculation with me several months later, coaxed from me by his loving mouth.

If I have spent over long on these reminiscences, it is to give M.M. and others a flavor of how I felt in those confusing days and how Carl helped me with his love and care. Sex was a very important part of our relationship, certainly not the most important part. I know that if at any time I had wanted to stop, Carl would have done so without question and I would never have felt he was pulling away.

When I was seventeen, Carl was killed in an automobile accident. There was not much to keep me at home after that, so I came west to California after graduating from high school. I went to college, became a teacher, married and am raising two children. I love children; their pain frightens me. As I have said, I am sexually attracted to boys (as well as to women). Some may argue that Carl is responsible for that attraction to boys. I doubt it. Prior to knowing him, I would stare at younger boys, fantasizing about them sexually. The surprising thing to me in retrospect is my bisexuality. Somewhere I learned to love people, regardless of their gender. I thank Carl for that lesson.

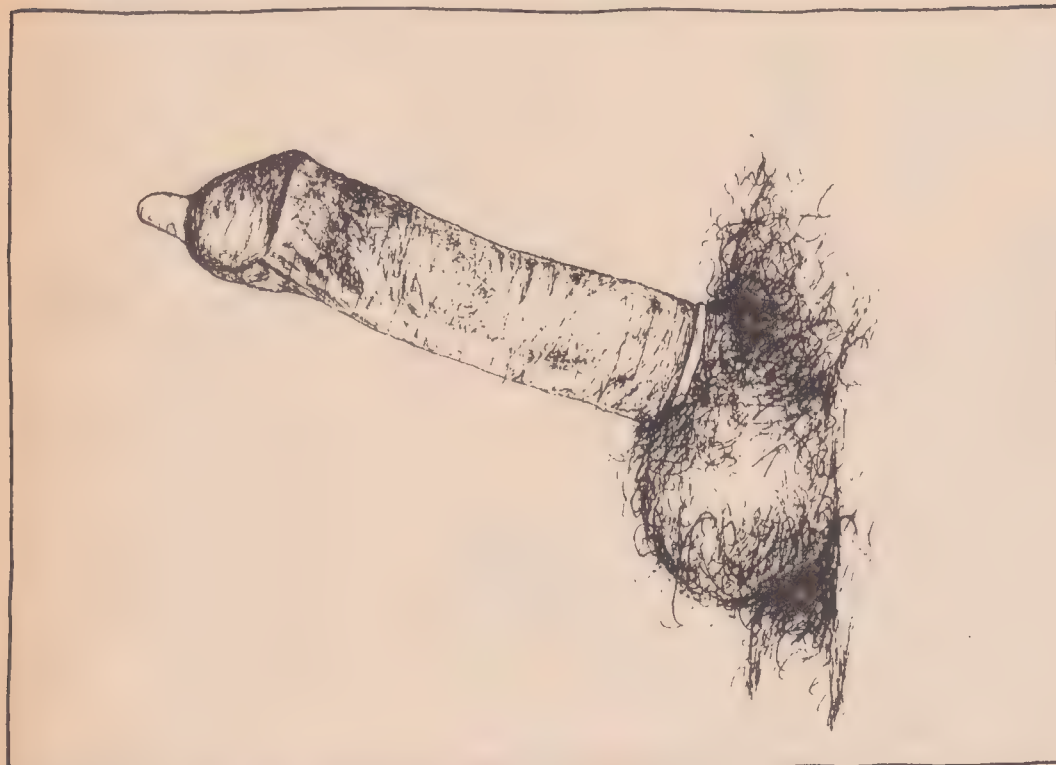
When I have told other people about my experiences, particularly those in NAMBLA, often they have asked me if Carl were still alive if I would feel comfortable with him being around my young son. Of course I would. Carl would not have done anything to hurt my son, as he had done nothing to hurt me. I would not have encouraged or discouraged anything. My children will be free to make whatever decisions they want to make on their own in this regard. (Parenthetically, that is why I would never, never consider a sexual liaison with one of my children. In this case, the power relationship makes informed consent very difficult if not impossible for the child.)

My experience is not terribly different from many of the men who are members of NAMBLA, though many of them had never had sexual experiences with men when they were boys, but often they looked up to a man in their lives. Many had no fathers or minimal contact with a father figure. Most have never had a sexual experience with a child as an adult. But also, most of the men (and the few women) I knew at NAMBLA were loving people, above average in intelligence with a strong regard for the rights of children, sexual and otherwise.

M.M. says that "maybe somewhere there are 'underage' youth who are, even under capitalism, freely choosing sex with 'older' men or women. Maybe this hap-



What responsibility would look like if it wasn't obscene.



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mr. fish

pens a lot. Me, I'll only defend the struggles of such youth to defend this freedom but never the authoritarian privileges of 'older' men or women to freely use the power of money to open the hairless crotches of street kids." S/he seems ready to defend freedom, but also s/he seems uneasy that this freedom might be real, that there are kids, street kids and otherwise, who may actually choose to love and live with someone of another generation. Come on, M.M., although I have never had sex with a young person since I have reached my majority, I have had several boys (at least ten) who were blatantly coming on to me sexually over the past years. Money had nothing to do with it. Most of these boys were from affluent families. Many of them had more money in their wallets or pockets than I do. Money meant nothing. Love and attention is the currency of pedophilia and kids know when one is broke in the currency and when one is flush.

I read the periodical *Gauntlet* which bills itself as "exploring the limits of free expression" below its masthead. I enjoy this periodical, but I was not surprised that in the first issue it stated several times something to the effect that all means of expression should be allowed except, *of course*, child pornography. Why the "of course?" The "of course" is there because child pornography is perceived as arising from situations wherein the child has not consented, therefore can only be a visual expression of child abuse. This attitude extends to the belief that no child has sufficient strength to be able to disagree or agree to a sexual relationship with an adult.

Both of these beliefs arise from the widely held concept that children are not strong enough, wise enough, experienced enough or capable enough to consent to most events in their lives. We have compulsory education in this country, not because we want kids to learn. If

we did, then we would have better schools. We have compulsory education to acculturate children to being led, to being compliant. I am a teacher (and that is why I cannot sign this letter), and I know that if the schools were safe, interesting, loving places to attend where real learning took place, then children would not have to be coerced into attending.

We have child labor laws to protect children from exploitation and dangerous conditions or so the current fantasy goes. If this were true, why then are so many children exploited by their parents, beaten or robbed? If this were true, why does not this country have universal health care or child care?

No, the laws of this country which are on the surface to protect children are more often than not ways of denying them full access to and participation in this society. Thus children are not allowed to consent to any aspect of their lives, sexual or otherwise. Child pornography

laws as well as child sex laws are more restrictive of those they are presumed to defend. No person, regardless of her age, should be sexually abused. There should be no need for a law which mandates special circumstances for age or gender. Sexual abuse is sexual abuse. If someone does not consent to sex wholly and without coercion and sex occurs, then what occurs is rape.

People should benefit from their labors. If a child chooses to be filmed in sexual circumstances, then the child should be able to benefit from the sale and distribution of the films and pictures. The key is choice. In this country, because a child is presumed not to be able to consent, a child can never choose to have a sexual relationship or can never choose to be filmed in sexual acts.

I was amused several years ago when a friend who shares my passion for boys invited me to see a video of some old "kiddie porn" he had acquired. Most of the films were of such poor quality that it would have been difficult to recognize most of the kids. A common thread seemed to be that the kids involved, whether individually or in twos or groups, appeared to be enjoying themselves. What amused me was one clip of a young boy, twelve and a half, who was masturbating himself with a vibrator. It was a very explicit film. One in which the boy looked like he was enjoying himself. I know the boy was, even though the film was almost twenty years old. I know because the boy was me.

My relationship with Carl was extralegal. There are those who would argue that it damaged me in some way. I do not think it did. I consented wholly to what we did. I consented, also, to the photographs he took of me and the films he made. He paid me for them, although I tried to refuse. He paid me well and when he asked if he could share the photographs and movies with others, I consented. He paid me again. It felt a little bit strange when I saw myself on film again twenty years later to realize that a great many men probably masturbated to my masturbation. I hope they en-



joyed themselves.

I know a lot of money probably crossed hands after the movies left Carl's possession. Had "kiddie porn" been legal, I might have received residuals. I might be rich right now. The laws which are in place to protect me when I was young, prevented me from profiting from my labors. Someone else sure as hell did. (In fact, I would rather have had my films given away, that the only profit made from my sexual activities were enjoyment and sexual pleasure.)

Child pornography has existed for a long time. Caravaggio was a purveyor of very expensive "kiddie porn." His clients were mostly members of the church, but one wonders what he could have accomplished with photo lithos and video tape. Botticelli's 'David' is one of the most erotic pieces of sculpture I have ever seen. But I cannot help but see love in the eyes of the model of this statue, love for the sculptor. That same emotion cries from the canvases of Caravaggio.

Child pornography has existed for a long time. What has not changed, is that those who are the subjects of the works, the children, are unable to benefit from their participation in the production of the works.

M.M. makes the point that NAMBLA is not an anarchist group. This is true. Neither is PETA or many other special interest groups. Many of the members of NAMBLA whom I knew were anarchists, though. The reason is that transgenerational sex, childhood sexuality, child pornography and consent are all issues which seem to boil down to two key issues in the anarchist agenda: profit and power.

Managed capitalist control of the people is necessary for profit. The people are best controlled if they learn control at an early age. Young people learn in school to sit straight, to listen, to produce the product that the boss (the administration) demands. If they do well, they are paid (grades). If they do not do what the school demands, they, not the school system, fails. Profit. Loss. Capitalism. Bank failure, bankruptcy, failure.

Schools, television, all of the

icons of our society teach children that they are less than competent, that they have no right to consent. The slogan is "Just Say No," not "Decide for Yourself Based on Information." Nowhere are kids today taught that they really have a right to choose in meaningful ways. Yes, they can choose between "Married With Children" and "The Saturday Night Movie." Great choice. Those in power wield all of the power. Children have none. Allowing them to make uncoerced, fully informed decisions in all aspects of their lives would upset the applecart to such an extent that our managed capitalistic society would fall apart.

Believe it or not, M.M., the issues which NAMBLA addresses are at the core of anarchist thought. I reiterate: there are no groups called "Young, Sexually Active and Proud." Our society would not allow such a group to last long. Like it or not, NAMBLA is one of the few groups which is looking at this critical issue. I have a lot of respect for the people who are active, visible members of this group. Quite a few have gone to jail for what they believe. I have known some of those men. I know they were set up. Do you trust our government to be any more honest in this circumstance than they have been in any other? I recommend that if you are truly interested in issues of freedom and liberation, you get to know the issues and the facts more fully than you did when you wrote your letter.

I am sorry I cannot sign this letter. My livelihood and my freedom depends on my anonymity. I hope that as long as it is, you will be able to print all or part of it.

Respectfully yours,  
An unrepentant pedophile

## More prison censorship

To Whom It May Concern,

You are hereby advised that a publication sent by you to an inmate of this institution has been found unacceptable, under Federal Prison System Program Statement 5266.5, *Incoming Publications*, for delivery to inmates of this institution for the

following reason(s): "#33/Summer '92 *Anarchy*" encourages or instructs in the commission of criminal activity.

Attached is a copy of our advisement to the inmate and the reasons for this action. You may obtain an independent review of this section by writing, within 15 days, to the Regional Director, South Central Regional Office, Federal Prison System, 4211 Cedar Springs Road, Suite 300, Dallas, Texas 75219.

Sincerely,  
Ron C. Burkhart  
Warden  
Fort Worth, TX.

## Loser mags

Greetings,

A brief note to thank you for printing the "Alternative press review." It comes in handy whenever I want to cancel a subscription to loser mags like *Utne Reader* and the *Seattle Community Catalyst*.

Thank you,  
B.B., Seattle, WA.

## Jabiru Tribe

Dear *Anarchy*,

...Our 4th issue of *Jabiru Tribe* will be late because the people who had agreed to print it changed their minds and gave us our layout and money back. They won't tell us why they have decided to act as censors but they did come up with some crap about it being against their police to print "stuff like that." Maybe they don't like the anarchist call to gather against the Nazi convention in Houston. So we'll go back to the old printer at least they like the paper. We will still have to look for a cheaper way to get more copies and pages out. Any ideas from you or your readers on how to get a paper printed by people who don't want to play censor?

Laterdays,  
Tony Yarbray  
POB 3648  
Corpus Christi, TX. 78463

## Discomfort with ideology

Dear *Anarchy*,

I picked up my first copy of *Anarchy* (issue #33) today. My reaction was: "What! A left-ac-

tivist magazine that prefers the whole truth to political correctness! That's outrageous!!! How dare they...It's barbaric! Sexist! Homophobic! Anarchic! What would happen if everybody started doing that? Next thing you know, all the wrong kind of people would be involved in revolution! It's got to be stopped!..." In other words, I loved it....

All joking aside, your magazine is terribly needed. For a long time, I've been drifting through Canadian activist groups feeling there is something wrong with me, and know that, yes, it is not always the case that the 'sexually-abused' child is traumatized by the 'abuse'. If the truth be told, about half of the thirteen-year-old hookers who have slept on my living room floor or on the couch are pretty blunt about saying that they like their work. But that's not the kind of thing I can tell to anyone in an 'activist' group without being ostracized. The alleged 'activists' (mostly WASP university students who have never lived in the slum, or sold their ass for money as a teenager—which I have) don't know any streetkids and are likely to believe that I am a pervert.

Since my father was a Hitler Youth in 1933 (he changed his name and nationality on immigrating to Canada after the war), I feel terribly uncomfortable when I see the politically correct shout down a university professor who they have decided is a racist or sexist or whatever. The resemblance to the Hitler Youth who shouted down socialist and Jewish professors at German universities is too clear in my mind for me to show the appropriate, politically-correct enthusiasm.

My discomfort with ideology, which is now becoming almost an ideological stance, leaves me shut out of a lot of activism. I end up having to teach streetkids and argue with welfare mothers about the importance of linking with one another. Meanwhile, the exclusive clubs of the 'activists' debate the fine points of ideology and ignore letters and phone calls. I wish I had written Todd Gitlin's poem "Who Are The People," because



this is how I feel:

"We are the people!"  
Proud words  
rattling around in a closed circle  
Pride in a closed circle  
sounds like bragging  
after a while....

If we are the people  
then how long does the served-  
out waitress wait?  
the secret secretary typing for the  
people?  
the janitor sweeping up after the  
people?  
those who buy lies in a seller's  
market  
licking the chops they think are  
theirs?

"They don't understand"  
Teach  
"They won't learn"  
You learn more,  
then teach  
Show how separate fingers  
become a fist  
but the fist is still made up of  
fingers

Show that anyone may recognize  
himself in you

Unfortunately, I have yet to  
stumble by accident into an  
activist group which will admit  
the teenage prostitutes who  
occasionally use my home as a  
safe haven.

So *Anarchy* matters to me. It  
matters that there is a means of  
access to a public out there that  
is open to people like me. It  
makes me feel less alone and, let  
me tell you, there is nothing  
lonelier than a one-man collec-  
tive....

Thanx,  
P.B., Toronto, Ontario

## In defense of Amnesty International

Dear *Anarchy*,

I am writing in regards to J.G.  
Eccarius' review of Amnesty  
International's 1991 *Report* (#32,  
p.10). I agree that there ought to  
be more investigations into  
whether some people have not  
been recognized by Amnesty  
International because of framed  
police investigations.

However, I thought that many  
of the author's accusations  
against AI were childish. Why,

for instance does the *Report*  
need to discuss the assassination  
of JFK, or CIA terrorism? Nor  
do they need to mention which  
countries are supported by the  
US. I think that one would have  
to be an idiot *not* to notice that  
most of the countries which the  
US supports are some of the  
worst abusers. The *Report* doesn't  
have to spell it out. The facts  
speak for themselves.

To support AI does not mean  
that one cannot support Free-  
dom Now or the Anarchist Black  
Cross. However, I strongly doubt  
that you could organized an  
Anarchist Black Cross in your  
local high school. Amnesty  
teaches people to think about  
human rights and that they have  
some power to change the situa-  
tion. You could go to your local  
AI meetings and discuss US  
foreign aid, or un-adopted pris-  
oners of conscience (POC), etc.  
One useful example of people  
who were not happy with AI's  
policies were the Gay/Lesbian  
Movement. Their supporters  
both in and out of AI protested  
their not considering gays/les-  
bians as POCs, and because of  
that, as of this year people ar-  
rested for their sexual prefer-  
ence will now be considered  
POCs.

In summary, I am not saying  
that AI is a holy-cow that should  
not be criticized. There is no  
such thing. However, I hope that  
further criticisms will not appear  
just because "it is a media dar-  
ling."

A.W., Eau Claire, WI.

## Anarcho-syndicalism is not a panacea

Dear *Anarchy*,

Those of us sympathetic to  
anarcho-syndicalism are con-  
stantly being told in your pages  
that we represent a minority of  
the anarchist movement in the  
U.S. The conclusion that we are  
supposed to draw from this, is  
that we are therefore outdated  
and wrong (and that is putting it  
generously). Yet if we were to  
take any of the positions advo-  
cated (by *Anarchy* or others) as  
an alternative to syndicalism:  
technology abolitionism, punk  
culturalism, sexual anarchism  
(i.e. the overthrow of all sex  
taboos, including those against

adult 'seduction' of children,  
incest, bondage, bestiality, etc.),  
situationism, the abolition of  
work, wilderness supremacy, and  
so forth; we would likewise find  
these to be minority positions.  
Thus while it may be easy to get  
all the non-syndicalists to agree  
to disagree with the syndicalists,  
that does not mean there is a  
"silent majority" of anarchists, or  
some anarchist mainstream, that  
agrees on some alternative ap-  
proach.

I am an anarcho-syndicalist  
because I am, unfortunately, a  
wage-slave. I do not think there  
is anything ennobling about  
physical labor, or that the work-  
ing class is better than the rest  
of society. It is only that, as an  
anarchist, I believe that to force  
people to give up their freedom  
for eight or more hours a day, in  
return for a wage, is morally and  
ethically wrong. For me, anar-  
cho-syndicalism offers the best  
combination of practical means  
and revolutionary ends to abol-  
ish wage-slavery.

I acknowledge that anarcho-  
syndicalism is not a panacea.  
There are many social wrongs  
that it does not address and  
would not solve by itself. That is  
why I feel there is a need for  
anarchists to be involved in  
other areas as well, particularly  
with the feminist and ecology  
movements. I do not understand  
why anarcho-syndicalists should  
therefore be criticized for show-  
ing their solidarity with these  
movements. Shouldn't a concern  
by anarcho-syndicalists be wel-  
comed as an enlightened at-  
tempt to broaden their hori-  
zons? Are we the working class  
'niggers' of the anarchist move-  
ment, that we must keep in our  
place, and not venture into areas  
of middle class concern?

The reason why anarchists  
have so little influence in the  
U.S. is not, as some suggest,  
because we are unorganized. An  
active federation, like those that  
exist in some other countries,  
would help, but first we would  
need to have the rudiments of a  
common program. A key ele-  
ment of that program would  
have to deal with the economy:  
the feeding, clothing, and shel-  
tering of 250 million people in a  
way that does not sacrifice anar-  
chist principles. Simply leaving

these matters "till after the revo-  
lution," is just as short-sighted as  
leaving sexual equality or the  
environment as something to be  
done as an after-thought.

Faternally,  
J.S., Champaign, IL.

## Anarchy in Russia

Dear Lev,

I'm writing to you from Rus-  
sia to let you and other com-  
rades know that *Anarchy* has  
reached this country with the  
help of my dear friend Laure A.  
Though the situation in this  
country differs greatly from the  
one in the USA, I find the mate-  
rials published in *Anarchy* very  
interesting and thought-provok-  
ing.

Unfortunately, modern Rus-  
sian anarchism hasn't given any  
significant and interesting think-  
ers or theories by now. Until  
now the program of KAS re-  
mains the only more or less  
consistent attempt to analyze the  
situation in this country and  
propose an anarchist alternative.  
But it's obvious today that the  
ideas which were put forward by  
the *Obschina* group several years  
ago were just updated interpre-  
tations of Bakunin, Proudhon,  
Tolstoy and other prominent  
anarchists of the past. Though  
there were some interesting (not  
traditional anarchist) approaches  
it was not enough. It's really sad,  
because for many anarchists  
here the program consists of not  
more than two slogans—"No  
power to nobody" and "Every-  
thing for everybody."

As the Swedish anarchist  
monthly *Brand* recently noticed,  
anarchists in this country are as  
split as the worst Trotskyists.  
The potential which our move-  
ment had in 1988-90 was lost  
and it will take quite a long time  
for it to become as significant as  
it was before.

I won't say that everything  
that anarchists do in this country  
is stupid, but surely our activism  
doesn't deserve a page in every  
issue of your nice magazine. It's  
always better to publish some-  
thing else rather than the arti-  
cles like the one by Dmitri Kos-  
tenko [see *Anarchy* #32/Spring  
'92, "Report from Moscow"]. I have  
many things to say about KAS  
and his group (IREAN), but I



don't feel like answering to a person who goes to the meetings of the Spartacist League.

I'm looking forward to writing an article about modern Russian anarchism, but I will try to concentrate on ideas rather than quarrels. Also I hope to make a contribution to the issue on "Individualism." Needless to say that I would like to get your magazine and I think it will be better that you send it to me.

And please, keep on writing under the name of Lev Chernyi, not to give it up to people who deserve it much less than you do. Modern Russian anarchism unfortunately is not up to its glorious past (though one shouldn't idealize it). But the hope remains.

Yours sincerely,  
Mikhail Tsovm

(Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists/Alexei Borovoi Group)

Ps. I enclose my little mag called *Liberation of the Individual* and hope that some articles from *Anarchy* will be published there soon. Please, put my address into your mailing list.

Pps. Maybe my letter is a little like Bob Black's articles, but it's the only genre a Russian anarchist can write not to be a liar. (That doesn't mean that I don't like Bob's articles, unfortunately, they seem to be true to life.)

## On Zerzan's "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism"

...Firstly, in order to clarify my position I would stress the distinction between "post-structuralist philosophy" (p-s) and postmodernism (pm). The latter is (or should be) merely an attempt to describe the world as it is—i.e. a kaleidoscopic cosmos—a ceaseless becoming of a multiplicity of interconnected forces (thanks Nietzsche) which must be understood in terms of difference rather than identity: a jumble of social and cultural groups busily competing for members (and media attention). The former (p-s) is a theoretical framework for dealing with such a world on its own terms. Post-structuralism is a very clever invention which is by no means the whole truth—it is simply a

# POLITICIANS

## WHEN YOU'VE SEEN ONE...



Ex-President Gorbachev, standing where Churchill gave his famous 1948 "Iron Curtain" speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri.

## YOU'VE SEEN 'EM ALL.

Michael William (Montréal, Québec).

useful tool in understanding an important dimension of present day experience—that we must take into consideration the way the individual finds it difficult to speak outside the social conventions of language (although hybridisation is quite possible) and how these very conventions of language make it extremely difficult (but not impossible) to refer to some concrete world of ultimate truth—much less an abstract one.

What is the relationship between the two (i.e. post-modernist theory and present day society?) Not as great as intellectuals like Zerzan would like to think it is. One just has to ask

oneself—who is even moderately familiar with post-structuralist theory—about 0.0001% of the population. I rather think that's too few to make a lot of difference. The other thing worth considering is how our individual lives have been changed from being exposed to the theories of the last 20 years—I'd have to say that in my own case not a hell of a lot. I can say that, yes in the '70s I was involved in politics and in the '80s it was aesthetics but in the main my life is little different.

For all his apparent erudition Zerzan appears to fail to grasp at least three fundamental points. First, it's silly to criticize

a theory which questions the existence of an ultimate objective truth for not being coherent, cohesive and rational (i.e. having the hallmarks of a conceptual framework based upon an ultimate objective truth). Next although Structuralism might start with the belief in the "enclosed, self-referential nature of language," luckily (as Zerzan admits but often then ignores) Post-structuralism doesn't end here. And thirdly, Post-structuralist theory, specifically deconstructionism, doesn't disallow dichotomization, it problematises it.

Take one quote Zerzan cites: "for postmodernists, it is simply too late to oppose the momen-



tum of industrial society" (Henry Kariel). That's a nice line but it's a crude generalization. I think Eva Tannor Bannet in *Logic—The Politics of Dissent* brings out the political context within which post-structuralist theories were developed. I came to my interest in p-s because of the way it went beyond the concept of marxian "false-consciousness." By what mechanism is the working class failing to take to its revolutionary conclusion the realisation that they live in a materialistic universe populated only by those with power and those without? In other words, why no revolution baby? For me post-structuralist theory provided an explanation for the recalcitrance of workers to realize and act upon their oppression (which in itself is a marxian phrase). I can't help feeling rather protective of a theory and methodology which provided me with very helpful conceptual tools such as Foucaultian discourse etc. It was through p-s that I finally was able to gain entry into Nietzsche's insights (i.e. Truth in the last instance is a socially mediated commodity).

I understand Zerzan's point and I can see the nihilism which underpins p-s. But when it all comes down to it, paradoxically the philosophy which was born out of an attempt to counter the romantic notions of existentialism leads to the same conclusion—the individual (constructed from a blend of forces which include the meaning systems which cohere around discourses) is forced into a choice—either to abandon one-self to nihilism or to attempt to emphatically live within an ethical system. The difference in post-structuralist philosophy is that instead of seeing this quest as noble (and thus inferiorising all other choices) the ethical life becomes merely a search by the schizoid personality for order and structure. Or to put it another way this choice becomes a game the intellectual plays to justify decisions already made. Note that by 'schizoid' I refer to a metaphorical play on the word—i.e. the post-modern condition is like a "kind of schizophrenia." One shouldn't confuse (like Zerzan or is it Harvey) the actual medi-

cal condition with the poetic expression of the intellectual's response to pm. In other words being aware of the way the individual is constructed as a subject simultaneously by a range of often contradictory discourses is not the same thing at all as the medical condition known as schizophrenia. This model of subjectivity has great explanatory powers and while I'm prepared to admit that there are other models of subjectivity (e.g. Freudian) which are just as useful I can't see how we can turn back the clock now at this late stage and pretend we were never told the p-s news.

Of course in actual fact there are other reasons for the individual to reject the nihilistic 'ambience' of post-structuralist theory without dismissing the theory itself. To say that reality in itself is neither good nor bad isn't the same thing as saying that good and bad no longer exist. I still know what good and bad are—although through p-s I may have been forced to think a lot harder about how I make the distinction.

Continuing on from a point I made earlier I think it's important to stress that p-s came into existence not just as a model of existing social and class relationships. It was a reaction to existing theoretical models. Okay, let's question the failings of p-s but before I throw it out altogether I would like to know what's going to be put into its place.

The problem was that 19th and early 20th century philosophy ossified and divorced from the everyday reality of a large slice of the philosophy-consuming public. If words like Spirit, Nature and Reason ever had a meaning they made most sense to the privileged upper middle class who had the leisure to contemplate such things. By the war years (with the continuing disintegration of the old sub-aristocratic social groups) philosophies based on these abstractions were seen as status-quo propaganda—unable to offer a positive course of action for the majority of middle and lower middle classes (let's be honest, too few of the working classes have ever been affluent enough

to afford philosophy). What was needed was a philosophy which dealt with the very real problems of everyday existence. The beauty of Marxism was that it answered these problems while offering the middle class intellectual a role to play in a post-revolutionary society, i.e. in the ruling class. However, with the loss of the fantasy that such intellectuals were acting on behalf of and for the benefit of the lower classes (it wasn't merely Stalinism which led to this loss of camouflage—it was the obvious ease with which revolutionary Bolshevism was transformed into a dictatorship), intellectuals had to find a new way of talking as if their world was the world of everyone else. The problem was that post-structuralism while undoubtedly fitting well into a liberation framework offers little in the way of a genuinely revolutionary methodology because it arises out of a disenchantment with quixotic applications of such methodology and with the realization of the complexity and difficulties of such an undertaking. For revolutionary (as distinct from radical) intellectuals who want to see some benefit from their labour in their lifetime—it's a bitter pill to swallow. But to blame the post-structuralists for this is to shoot the messenger. Personally I'd rather know the sordid truth than live in an I.S. and anarcho-syndicalist dream world. The problem after accepting this becomes the same one as it always has been—what is one to do?

Let's take one sentence from Zerzan's article: "In terms of systematic thought, the growing preoccupation with language is a key factor accounting for the pm climate of narrowed focus and retreat." I don't accept this. Leaving aside for a minute the question of whether there has been a general narrowing of focus and retreat, what post-structuralism has foregrounded is the problem of to what does language refer?

I'm not about to say that a chair is merely a word and doesn't refer to anything. But I am prepared to say that 'chair' as a word refers as much to a class or category of 'thing' as to a single discrete object. It is not

the latter use of the term which is in dispute—it is the simple confusion between category and specificity. When I say I would like to sit down on this chair—I don't for a moment think that everyone present can't understand exactly what I'm referring to. This supposed confusion between words and what they most usually represent seems to me to be a beat-up.

However when someone says "It's in Man's Nature to quest for Knowledge," then I'm with the post-structuralists. Who is this Man? What is meant by Nature, Quest and Knowledge? But *more importantly*—who is speaking? What is the context of the statement? In other words, it's not that language has lost its outside referent—it has lost its innocence. This simple fact has upset the Marxists and authoritarian leftists because it has revealed hence undermined the power of propaganda.

I'd like to stress this point which seems to have been so deliberately misunderstood by commentators like Robert Desaux of "Books and Writing" fame who are sympathetic to the insights arising from p-s scholarship. Language (expanded beyond mere words to include images and symbols) is indeed an important area for study because it is the medium through which power is most effectively exercised. It is also the medium through which real power is disguised.

It is ironic that Zerzan disparages the p-s obsession with language, words and texts—citing Edward Said (that grand man of letters) as saying that the '70s witnessed an alarming withdrawal into the "labyrinth of textuality." How does Zerzan know this? Because he read it in a book. How does he communicate this idea? Through words in a 3000+ word essay.

"Language is more and more debased; drained of meaning, especially in its public use." Who is this public? The language of the glorious proletariat has always been instrumental—directly referring to the world of shared experience. I'm cynical enough to think that the public to which Zerzan refers is the (increasingly fragmented) book-reading public



who aren't prepared to swallow his arguments hollus bollus. I suspect that people use as much language as they need to make themselves understood.

Zerzan says that the "Sausurian belief in the enclosed, self-referential nature of language implies that everything is determined within language, leading to the scrapping of such quaint notions as alienation, ideology, repression, etc...." Certainly structuralism problematizes these ideas but only in terms of them existing as abstractions divorced from real existence. First p-s asks us to consider carefully the meaning of these words. We are advised to question if such words are the by-product or the cause of the 'real' phenomenon (e.g. alienation implies that an actual expulsion from some social group is occurring when it could be argued that the group is being expelled from the individual and the theory aids this process). This leads to the question for what ideological purpose are these words being used? But to imply as Zerzan does that words are immutable and language shouldn't evolve is an excellent example of ideology at work.

I could go on and on like this but I feel like a dog chasing its own tail. [...]

S.C., Balwyn, Australia

## John Zerzan comments: "I remain unconvinced"

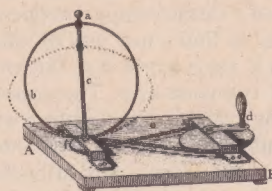
I'm not sure a reply to S.C. is completely appropriate, for his rambling contribution often has less to do with the points raised in "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism" than with his need to justify postmodernism/post-structuralism in a more general way.

But if his apologia is, in general, all there is to be said for pm/p-s, I remain unconvinced. What advantages, if not breakthroughs, does he see enabled? Well, he reveals that "it was through p-s that I finally was able to gain entry into Nietzsche's insights (i.e. Truth in the last instance is a socially mediated commodity)." I wonder if there is anyone even remotely involved in analysis/critique who does not begin with this banality?

Maybe this is the sum of pm-p-s's "great explanatory powers,"

since we are not treated to any others. Pardon me, he finds one other specific advantage: "through p-s I may have been forced to think a lot harder about how I make the distinction" between good and evil.

Certainly at this time of crushing estrangement and the accelerating destruction of nature it is superior to have to "think a lot harder" about such subtleties. By the end of S.C.'s longish submission, it comes as little surprise to learn that he can question whether "words are the by-product or the cause of the 'real' phenomenon (e.g. alienation)...."



## Friendly Fire

Dear *Anarchy*,

I welcome your reprinting of M. Kolhoff's self-discrediting "Call"—and it was "The Call," after all!—for an authoritative national anarchist organization. There is much worse in it than the small point I belabored in "The Anti-Anarchist Conspiracy." How well anarchism is represented in public libraries is of slight importance. How carelessly anarchists generalize and gesticulate is a problem much more within their capacity to solve. There's a saying, if you live outside the law, you have to be honest. More comprehensive refutations of Kolhoff's nonsense appeared in *Black Eye* (by Joe Braun) and will appear in my *Friendly Fire* (yes, that was a plug).

My prediction last issue that the Riggins case would be reversed has come true. The first ground was that there was no showing of necessity for involuntary medication as required by *Washington v. Harper*—the other case your correspondent went into hysterics over. The second was that the antipsychotic drug introduced a significant risk of interference with the defendant's ability to communicate with his lawyer and present his defense.

Is that a banana on your head, or are you just happy to see me?

When I wrote "Feminism as Fascism" nine years ago, Lev Chernyi called it "wonderfully unfair." In the wake of the Robichaud incident and numberless others like it, I claim complete vindication. Meanwhile "A Feminist" thinks she's made the anti-porn case by reiterating it with footnotes to other know-nothings like Andrea Dworkin, surely a credible source since she twice observes in *Intercourse* that all men are Nazis. A Feminist isn't even up on the latest gyration in rad-fem 'theory'. In a recent encyclical, Dworkin's Co-Popess Catherine MacKinnon revealed that rape is about sex after all! So the (wo)mantra A Feminist intones, that rape is about power, not sex, is Incorrect. I think I can explain the flipflop. What, to this duo, is wrong with rape? That it's an exercise of power? But they like to exercise power, as they did in getting censorship ordinances enacted in Minneapolis and Indianapolis. On the other hand, sex is dirty. So in saying rape is sex they are saying the worst thing they can think to say about it.

But I heartily agree with A Feminist from Mankato (if you'll pardon the expression), like her, "I'm really tired of so-called progressive men who 'don't get it.'" In fact, I'm really tired of so-called progressives, period. In fact, I'm tired of progress, period. I yearn for the day the last progressive man is hanged with the guts of the last radical feminist. Not the 'so-called' ones, the real ones.

Bob Black  
POB 66153  
Albany, NY. 12206

## Send nominations

Dear *Anarchy* readers,

We need you to send nominations for Vice-President. On May 14, 1992, the Gateway Green Alliance of St. Louis moved by consensus to introduce a nomination for the Office of President of the USA. Our nominee is the world-famous St. Louis Airport Site (SLAPS).

SLAPS holds radioactive waste from the "Manhattan Project," which developed the atomic bombs used on Japan in 1945. Since no one else has any idea

of what to do with nuclear waste, we are nominating SLAPS for President and plan to ship it to the White House when it wins. After 4 (or 8) years in office, SLAPS will be retired and relocated to the Pentagon where it can rest for eternity.

After WWII, radioactive waste was shipped to a site near St. Louis's Lambert Airport. For almost half a century, the Department of Energy (DOE) and Mallinckrodt Chemical Company have been moving stuff in and out, creating offspring sites, and embellishing the radioactive waste with arsenic and nitrotoluene.

The first waste site was at Weldon Spring. DOE currently has a plan to 'treat' the radioactive water at Weldon Spring and then dump it into the Missouri River at Hog Hollow Road. From there, the waste would make its way to metro St. Louis drinking water intake points.

The radioactive dump could become an All-American candidate. It symbolizes what can happen to any city when the State uses war to ensure high profits for industry. SLAPS reflects the racial attitudes which allowed the US to so easily bomb both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a symbol of the slaughter of Japanese, SLAPS manifests the concern which the military/industrial complex has for communities of color within our borders. In short, SLAPS radiates everything good and decent about the market economy and the State which serves it. If you believe that it is the best-qualified candidate to assume the office of President of the USA in 1992, write in 'SLAPS' on your ballot next November.

SLAPS needs a running mate. Do you have a local nominee? A municipal waste dump? A hazardous waste incinerator? A poisoned lake or stream? A clear-cut? We need a running mate that will strengthen the ticket by focusing on different but complementary toxic issues. Send a 100 to 600 word description of your candidate and why he/she/it is qualified to assume the office of VP. We are especially interested in receiving suggestions for running mates from children. We will compile



nominations we receive before July 20 into an informational packet. Send nomination descriptions to: Gateway Green Alliance, Vice-Presidential Nominations, POB 8094, St. Louis, MO. 63156. If at all possible please send \$5 or \$10 with your nomination to help publicize the campaign.

I can't tell *Anarchy* readers how wonderful and thrilling it is to work for a candidate that I can really believe in. With so many people promising things just to get elected, it's refreshing to be part of a campaign where you can be absolutely certain that the candidate will not make any false promises. I sincerely feel that now is the time for Americans to stand up and cast their votes where they will actually make a difference.

In solidarity,  
D.F., St. Louis.

## What would have been

Dear *Anarchy*,

I enjoyed your recent issue on "Abandoning Civilization," but felt that it would have been a stronger issue had it included articles by/on Dave Foreman and Alan Dregson. Similarly, your issue on feminism could have used articles by/on Rosi Braidotti and Carole Vance, and your issue on postmodernism should have included articles by/on Rolando Perez and Brian Massumi. OK, OK, I'll get off my fat ass and write something!  
A.P., Ottawa, Ontario

## Fax agitation

*Anarchy*,

Agitate. Non-luddites have new technology with which to agitate and remain stealthy. The San Diego outfit, Unlimited Systems, offers devices to wed laptop pc to public phones for fax transmission. About \$100 for the konexx koupler. Could be another way to demobilize or inform or agitate the Hierarchy. Tip: If you decide to electronically pummel someone into submission, be sure to erase incriminating fax files, fax log files, blank out your fax id string, and transmit from varying obscure locations. Tie up those lines!

W.O., Chicago, IL.

# LOOTING

## A Martian Perspective

To: Martian Institute for Social Research

From: Captain Zorch, Flying Saucer X-1968-Y

Report on Mass Object-Seizing in North American Earth Cities, April-May 1992.

From April 29 to May 2, 1992 (Earth calendar), my crew and I observed thousands of earthlings seizing and redistributing goods from public display stations. These festive outbursts occurred in the urban zones of North America, especially in the core of the Los Angeles cityplex. Given what we know about Earth society, this activity constitutes a mass outbreak of rational behavior among the Earth creatures.

All our previous data about the inhabitants of Earth indicates a peculiar gap between their industrial productivity and their personal satisfaction. Earth society produces clothing, food, electronic devices, and luxury objects in abundance. Even though the earthlings themselves produce these goods in their factories and on their farms every day, these desired items are amassed in *stores* (controlled distribution stations) rather than passed out to everyone. Furthermore, the front walls of the stores are made of *windows* (thin, transparent membranes) that effectively separate the goods from the creatures while keeping them continually tantalized. The earthlings also spend a minimum of five hours every evening viewing images of their objects on *televisions* (thin, opaque membranes), which keep them further tantalized between visits to the windows.

Although the windows are made of the most brittle material on the planet, an unknown social convention usually keeps the creatures from breaking the windows and taking whatever they want. Instead, the earthlings engage in roundabout lifelong ritual to obtain the goods from the stores. They typically spend five days a week for sixty years engaging in *jobs* (repugnant, involuntary activity) in exchange for *money* (small strips of green paper). When an Earth creature accumulates enough money, it enters a store and *shops* (trades money for things).

My crew found this behavior extremely curious after surveying Earth's forests in our saucer. We wondered if the paper from the planet's millions of trees could provide enough money for all the earthlings to abandon their jobs and immediately obtain the store's goods. Apparently not, for the paper is used to print daily and weekly collections of *advertisements* (powerful words and images of the objects). The advertisements—a static form of televisions—similarly tantalize the species into shopping, which in turn compels

them to continue their jobs.

However, the events from April 29 to May 2 were a reversal of the planet's bizarre culture practice. The creatures reverted to a natural form of behavior: seizing goods through the windows instead of money-shopping. The pleasurable expressions we noticed on the earthlings' faces were probably due to a deep, unified sensory experience: whatever the eye saw, the hand grabbed. Earlier Martian explorer crews had observed Earth infants in stores grabbing whatever objects they wanted until a parent earthling replaced the objects and trained the infant with a short vocal outburst about the universal money-object relationship (which they term "respect for property values"). But during these five days of natural festivity, the adults behaved like the infants they originally were. Also, the object-seizing was often a communal activity, as befits a social-animal species, in contrast to the usual cultural pattern of separated shoppers.

The public object-taking (which the creatures call 'looting') is a communal extension of secret, individual object-taking (known as 'shoplifting'). Apparently, just as shoplifting is an inevitable product of a society of stores and money, so is looting. Our earlier studies of the history of Earth societies noted parallel inherent outcomes. Just as slave society produced slave revolts, and feudal society created peasant revolts, so capitalist society brings forth *strikes* (producer revolts), *looting* (shopper revolts), and *revolutions* (citizen revolts).

In conclusion, the owners and managers of capitalist Earth society face the dilemma of rational, natural challenge to an irrational, unnatural society. Capitalism, with its jobs-money-shopping organization, has turned Earth into an alien planet where the Earthlings never feel at home. However, the looting festival of April 29 to May 2 indicates that the creatures are gradually creating, as our Vulcan friends would say, a logical existence.

Respectfully submitted,  
ZORCH

[This message was intercepted by the Social Club and is being distributed as a public service. Send two first-class stamps to us at 2140 Shattuck Avenue, Box 2200, Berkeley, CA 94704 for copies of our other outbursts.]





*Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).*

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